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EUROPEAN CITIES AT WORK

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EUROPEAN CITIES AT WORK

BY

FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph.D.

AUTHOR OF "THE CITY: THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY," "THE BRITISH CITY: THE BEGINNINGS OF DEMOCRACY," "PRIVILEGE AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA," "WISCONSIN: AN EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY"

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1917

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TO

NEWTON D. BAKER

A MAYOR WITH VISION

THIS BOOK

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

PREFACE

Some years ago I wrote a book which bore the title "The City: The Hope of Democracy." The subtitle was received with protest by some, with incredulity by others.

There was little to justify hope at that time. Our cities were under the searchlight, and the evils disclosed seemed inherent in great industrial aggregations of people. How could the city govern itself honestly and efficiently under democratic forms; how could it assimilate great masses of untrained foreign-born people; how could it relieve poverty, vice, and disease? The city seemed to many to be the behemoth of civilization.

Since then there have been house-cleanings all over the land. A new feeling of confidence has arisen, in which democracy is the dominant note. Reform has brought with it the commission form of government, simple, direct primaries, the short ballot, and the abolition of the party emblem on the one hand, and on the other the ownership or control of public-service corporations, the protection of human health and life, the play-ground, and, more recently, the comprehensive planning and building of cities. Reform

is both political and social. It is already beginning to change the face of our cities.

As yet there are but few commanding achievements. We do not think in big community terms. We have not begun to plan and build with a vision of the whole. We do not appreciate the possibilities of city life. But there are cities that justify hope; cities that are administered by trained officials; cities that are built by far-seeing statesmen, and that consciously promote comfort, convenience, happiness, life. Such cities are to be found in Germany, and in a less developed degree in the other countries of Europe as well.

And this is a study of these old-world cities as they appear to an American; it is a study gained from contact with burgomasters, officials, and business men in Berlin, Frankfort, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Dresden, Munich, Vienna, and Brussels; with the mayors and councilmen of Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, and London. It is the result of many visits to Europe, one of which was to make a municipal investigation for the United States Government; another was made as a member of the Boston Chamber of Commerce Party in 1911, which went to Europe to study city conditions. It is a study of the things that distinguish the European cities from our own.

And the German city is an experiment-station for all of us. It is a *freistadt*, a little republic, with power

to do almost anything for the welfare of the people. The city is sovereign, and it uses its sovereignty to build in a conscious, intelligent way. It can mould its destiny as did the cities of ancient Greece. It controls property as well as people. It acts with a vision of the future; not alone of the city, but of the lives and comfort of the people as well. The German city is being built something as Pericles built Athens, as Louis XIV planned Versailles, as the two Napoleons rebuilt Paris.

Twenty years ago the phrase "municipal housekeeping" was common in Germany. This expressed the current ideals of city administration. Thought has progressed since then. Men now talk about "community living." Officials seem to realize that the city involves vicarious costs that can and should be shifted from those who suffer from city conditions onto those who profit by them.

And already the cities of Germany, and to a considerable extent those of Great Britain and the Continent, have demonstrated that many of the sacrifices of the modern industrial city can be avoided. Poverty can be reduced, and the life of the people be enriched in countless ways not possible under rural conditions. Cities realize that many activities are so closely related to the life of the people that they cannot with safety be left in private hands. There must be provision for play, for leisure, as well as for education. The land-owner and the house-

builder, the means of transportation, and the supply of gas, water, and electricity environ life in so many ways that they must be subordinate to the rights of the community. Docks and harbors, the railroads and water-ways, the houses men live in and the factories they work in, are all so related to the well-being of the city that they must be owned or controlled in the interest of all.

It is in their physical aspect and their relation to property and life that the European cities differ most widely from our own. We have been concerned with political, legal, and excise problems; they, with industrial and social ones. With us the city is a political agency of the State; with them it is a business corporation organized to realize the maximum of returns to the community. We think of forms; they, of activities. The way the city is planned, the services it renders, the protection it offers, the happiness it gives—these are the aims of the European city. The charter is but a tool for the realization of these aims.

In America the city has grown more rapidly than our city sense. Science has not been applied to social ends. We have not adjusted the knowledge we have to city building. We have not centred our attention on the big problems which the birth of the city has created. Nowhere have we acknowledged that it can be shaped and used as a conscious instrument for people. The city has been left to the free

exploitation of individualism, under the philosophy of "every man for himself and devil take the hindmost." And it is the license of too much individualism rather than the inherent difficulties of the problem that have made the American city what it is. This book has been written with the hope that the achievements of European cities may aid in the solution of our problems.

FREDERIC C. HOWE.

NEW YORK, *April*, 1913.

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EUROPEAN CITIES AT WORK

CHAPTER I

THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN CITY

I KNOW of no cities in the modern world which compare with those which have arisen in Germany during the past twenty years. There are none in Great Britain, from which country official delegations constantly cross the North Sea to study the achievements of the German city. There are none in France, in which country the building of cities has made but little progress since the planning projects of Baron Haussmann made Paris the beautiful city that it is.

There have been three great periods in which the building of cities inspired the dreams of men. In the age of the Antonines the Roman people gave themselves with enthusiasm to the embellishment of their capital. The public structures, temples, amphitheatres, and palaces then erected still remain the wonder of subsequent centuries. During the later Middle Ages the cities of Italy, France, Germany, and the Netherlands erected similar monuments expressive of the pride awakened by their freedom. Now again in the twentieth century the German people are expressing their love of the fatherland in monuments of the same permanent character and artistic

splendor. Capital cities like Berlin, Munich, and Dresden, as well as more commercial cities like Düsseldorf, Mannheim, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Cologne, Leipsic, and Stuttgart, are vying with one another in the beautiful, the orderly, and the serviceable.

Important as are the honesty and the efficiency of the German city, it is the bigness of vision, boldness of execution, and far-sighted outlook on the future that are most amazing. Germany is building her cities as Bismarck perfected the army before Sadowa and Sedan; as the empire is building its warships and merchantmen; as she develops her waterways and educational systems. The engineer and the architect, the artist and the expert in hygiene are alike called upon to contribute to the city's making. The German cities are thinking of to-morrow as well as of to-day, of the generations to follow as well as the generation that is now upon the stage. Germany almost alone among the civilized nations sees the city as the permanent centre of the civilization of the future, and Germany almost alone is building her cities to make them contribute to the happiness, health, and well-being of the people. This seems to be the primary consideration with officials and citizens. It is this that distinguishes the cities of this country from the other cities of the world.

Far-sightedness characterizes Germany in all things. The Kaiser seems to see the eagle of the Hohenzollerns not only at the head of his battalions

and flying at the mast-head of his dreadnoughts; he sees not only the merchant marine challenging the supremacy of Great Britain and the German factory burrowing its way into the ports of the world; he sees as well that his people are being drawn from the countryside and into the cities. Already 49 per cent. of the people are living in towns, while the percentage living in cities of over 100,000 has increased 50 per cent. in ten years' time. Further than this, the reports of ministers disclose the fact that poverty has come in with the city; that something like 80 per cent. of the population of the larger towns is living in cellars, garrets, or under unsanitary surroundings. And, far-sighted statesman that he is, the Kaiser sees that his regiments and his battle-ships, no less than the mills and the factories, must be manned by strong and well-educated men. These the city is imperilling. It is sapping the life of the people. And the Kaiser and his ministers are studying the city as they do their engines of warfare; they are thinking of human beings as well as of rifles; of protecting men as well as of destroying them.

All Germany, in fact, seems organized with the definite ambition of becoming the dominant force in the world. This is a conscious purpose, not of the Kaiser alone, not of his ministers, but of councillors, business men, and citizens. The army and navy are but parts of this programme. The university and the technical schools, the colleges of commerce, the

classical and the scientific academies, even the common schools themselves, are part of a national engine designed to produce the highest possible efficiency in 65,000,000 people. Health is studied. Education is adjusted to new conditions. The children are watched over and cared for. There are insurance, pensions, and hundreds of agencies to protect the worker from accidents, disease, and even the intermittent nature of his work.

The railways are owned by the state and are used as an agency to promote the empire. Rates and charges are adjusted to bring fuel and raw materials to the manufacturer and to give him in turn preferential rates to the markets of the world. The rivers Rhine and Elbe are deepened almost to their sources to cheapen transportation and develop new centres of industry, while canals intersect the country in every direction. At Hamburg, Bremen, Kiel, great ocean harbors have been constructed in the face of natural obstacles that would have discouraged other peoples, while along the Rhine practically every city has developed docks and harbors, almost any one of them superior to the ocean docks of an American city. Through these harbors cities have been connected with the sea, while round about them industrial areas have been opened up with cheap manufacturing sites and the best of water and railway transportation. There is no conflict between the railways and the water-ways, no struggle to strangle

the canals or to prevent competition. Transportation is open to all on equal terms, irrespective of the size of the undertaking.

In this imperial movement the cities have become one of the chief agencies in the industrial development of the country. They compete with one another, but never against the empire. The business men who rule them seem to think in social rather than in individual terms. They have a sense of team-play, of co-operative effort, of being willing to sacrifice their immediate individual interests to the welfare of the community. Cities co-operate with the state, they spend generously for education, they make provision for hospitals, for recreation, for housing the people. The city partakes of the spirit of the empire. It inspires a kind of loyalty I have never seen in any other country in the world. Germany is treating the new behemoth of civilization, the modern industrial city, as a creature to be controlled, and made to serve rather than to impair or destroy humanity. She is doing this through city planning, the new art of city building; through education; through sanitation and hygiene; by uniting the expert with the administrator, and by making science the handmaiden of politics.

The German city, like our own, is the product of the last generation. Only its location, its traditions, its royal palaces, and its beauty are old. Düsseldorf had but 70,000 people in 1871; it now has 356,000.

Frankfort-on-the-Main has grown from 80,000 in 1871 to 411,000 in 1910. Berlin was a capital city of but 800,000 in 1870; to-day it contains 2,064,153 people. There are thirty-three cities in Germany whose combined population is over 12,000,000 people. This is 20 per cent. of the whole, while the total urban population equals 49 per cent. of the total.

We are accustomed to think that the American city is anomalous in its growth. But the American city is typical of the industrial world, whether it be in Germany, England, France, Belgium, or Italy. The city is a product of the nineteenth century; it is a by-product of steam, electricity, and transportation. Civilized life has become urban, and to an increasing extent metropolitan. And in all probability the city will continue to contain an increasing percentage of the people in all civilized countries. It is the official recognition of this fact and the organized effort to control the urban problem that makes the German city unique among the cities of the world.

The German city has sprung into existence during the past thirty years. There were but few industries of any importance prior to the formation of the empire in 1871. In 1816 less than 2 per cent. of the population of Prussia lived in cities of over 100,000 population. By the middle of the century the percentage had crept to only 4 per cent. This was the era of immigration to the United States. Only after

the war with France did Germany respond to the industrial revolution which began in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The awakening came with the formation of the empire and the French indemnity paid on the close of the Franco-Prussian War. At that time 68 per cent. of the population was engaged in agriculture. By 1907 the percentage had fallen to 28 per cent. In the latter year the percentage engaged in industry amounted to 43 per cent. of the total. Almost the whole increase in population in the last generation, or about 24,000,000, has been added to the cities. In 1871 only 25 per cent. of the people lived in towns of more than 5,000 people, at which time there were but nine cities of over 100,000 population. There are now forty-seven.

According to the census of 1910 there were seven cities in Germany with more than half a million people. They are Berlin (without including the suburbs), 2,064,153; Hamburg, 936,000; Munich, 593,053; Leipsic, 585,743; Dresden, 546,882; Cologne, 511,042; and Breslau, 510,929. There are four cities with more than 300,000 people. They are Frankfort-on-the-Main, with 414,406; Düsseldorf, with 356,733; Nuremberg, with 332,539; and Charlottenburg (a suburb of Berlin), with 304,280. Twelve other cities have more than 200,000 and twenty-four others have from 100,000 to 200,000 people.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE OF CITIES OF COMPARABLE SIZE IN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY INDICATES THE RAPIDITY OF URBAN GROWTH IN THE TWO COUNTRIES[1]

	Pop. 1880	Pop. 1890	% Inc. 10 Yrs.	Pop. 1900	% Inc. 20 Yrs.	Pop. by Latest Census	Total Years	% Inc.
Cincinnati	255,139	296,309	16.1	325,902	27.7	364,463 (1910)	30	42.8
Breslau	272,900	335,200	22.8	422,728	54.9	510,929 (1910)	30	86.9
Buffalo	155,000	255,664	65.0	352,387	127.1	423,715 (1910)	30	173.4
Cologne	144,800	281,800	94.6	372,229	157.0	511,042 (1910)	30	253.0
New Orleans	216,000	242,039	12.0	287,104	32.8	339,075 (1910)	30	56.9
Dresden	220,800	276,500	25.2	395,394	79.0	546,882 (1910)	30	248.0
Louisville	123,758	161,005	31.0	204,731	65.4	223,928 (1910)	30	80.9
Hanover	122,800	163,600	33.2	233,666	91.0	302,384 (1910)	30	146.0
Providence	104,850	132,099	26.0	175,597	67.5	224,326 (1910)	30	113.9
Nuremberg	99,519	142,523	43.2	261,022	162.3	332,539 (1910)	30	234.1
Rochester	89,366	133,896	49.8	162,608	82.0	218,149 (1910)	30	144.1
Chemnitz	85,000	138,955	63.5	206,584	143.0	244,927 (1905)	25	188.1

[1] During these years German cities widened their boundaries and took in the surrounding towns and villages. How much this modifies the comparison it is impossible to state.

CHAPTER II

IMPRESSIONS OF EUROPEAN CITIES

No Baedeker is needed to advise the traveller he has entered a new country as he crosses the boundaries of Holland, Belgium, or France into Germany. If he enters at Cologne, Düsseldorf, or Frankfort, as many travellers do, he comes at once to the most finished cities of the modern world. Here in south Germany, cities have grown with the rapidity of our own; here is industry like that of Cleveland, Detroit, or Pittsburgh; like that of Sheffield, Birmingham, or Manchester. Here are iron and steel mills, machine shops, silk, woollen, and chemical industries that have made "made in Germany" a nightmare to England. Here along the Rhine are cities that might be like our own factory towns. They might be "*schlecht und billig*," ragged and unkempt, in need of a survey to arouse the people to the dangers of their slums, the backwardness of their schools, the poverty of parks and playgrounds, the lack of beauty and charm. These cities might be like Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Cleveland, or a score of other American cities which have assumed metropolitan proportions during the last twenty years.

But these German industrial cities are not mean and tawdry. They are not like the manufacturing cities of America or the mill towns of the north of England. Their factory owners do not hasten to Berlin or Paris to escape the dirt and smoke which their mills create. They remain at home and devote themselves to the improvement of their cities, to making them attractive and livable. And in this they have succeeded. For the cities of south Germany are the best examples in the world of what can be done with this problem that has become our despair. They do more for their people than any cities I know, and they do it honestly, efficiently, and well. That seems to be the ambition of city officials and business men. That seems to be the ambition of the people, who have a wonderful public spirit.

The railway station is a symbol of the whole. It is like the portal of a cathedral or the towering gate of a mediæval town. It is commodious and commanding. There is every provision for comfort and safety. Frankfort, a city of 415,000, has a station costing $10,000,000. It was built when the city had only half of its present population. The stations of Cologne, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Bremen are all of the same architectural splendor. The German city would be ashamed to have its gateway anything else. In front of the station is the station-place, the bahnhofplatz. In the foreground is a formal flower-garden

Frankfort Railway Station.

Dresden Railway Station.

Railway stations are of splendid proportions. Tracks rarely disfigure the city and are built for permanence and beauty.

surrounded with clean, well-paved roadways for traffic. Here the street railways converge. There are places for carriages and pedestrians. Round about the bahnhofplatz are hotels, restaurants, and shops of uniform height and in harmony with the station itself. The open space is usually a half circle, and is carefully designed for use and beauty. Broad streets radiate out from the bahnhofplatz, like the ribs of a fan, to different parts of the city. They are usually the retail business streets.

The railway station is but one of several city centres carefully planned as such. There is no dirt or smoke and little noise and confusion. There is dignity, comfort, convenience. Obviously the city's gateway is under public control. It is the twentieth-century adaptation of the mediæval city gate that has been so carefully preserved in Munich, Cologne, Düsseldorf, and elsewhere.

We have made a beginning of building gateways to our cities. The Union Station at Washington is of commanding size and classic design. It opens into a spacious plaza which at night is brilliantly illuminated. In the distance the Senate building and Capitol rise on Capitol Hill. The intervening space has been razed of buildings so as not to obstruct the vista. From this centre the street railways radiate. The gateway of Washington is probably the most monumental in the world. It is worthy of the capital of the nation.

The new Pennsylvania and New York Central stations in New York are also of magnificent proportions. There is nothing in Europe to compare with them. But with few exceptions our cities have been compelled to shift, as best they can, with unsightly, inconvenient, and inadequate stations.

The new Hohenzollern bridge across the Rhine at Cologne has commanded something of the thought that inspired the architects who spent centuries on the building of the Cologne cathedral. It is typical of the care shown railway and passenger bridges all over Europe. The approaches are adorned with massive towers and statuary, while the lines of the bridge add greatly to the beauty of the city. The same concern is manifested in the railway approaches. The railway is an incident. It does not ravage whole sections of the city, its water-fronts and dwelling areas. There are no grade crossings. The overhead work is inconspicuous and is designed for beauty. The sides of the tracks are sodded with grass. There is every possible protection against danger.

We are in the habit of speaking of the superior railway service in America, but we overlook the ugly trail the railway makes. It gives us speed, but at a terrible cost to human life. It ignores the rights of the community to cleanliness and beauty, and imposes a heavy cost on all of us in the way it disfigures the community.

There is no protracted warfare in Germany for the

possession of streets like that waged for years to force the New York Central off Eleventh Avenue in New York. There is no coercion to compel a city to give up property worth millions as a consideration for the building of a railway station. There is no prolonged litigation over water-fronts like that which has exhausted many of our cities. There are no dirty, incommodious stations. In Germany the railway is an integral part of the community. It exists to serve. It is owned and operated by the state.

As one leaves the station at Cologne the great Gothic cathedral rises high above the bahnhofplatz. A few minutes' walk along a shaded river embankment brings one to a broad parkway which encircles the older part of the city. It is the Ring Strasse, built on the site of the old fortifications which protected the Rhine cities from their warring neighbors. As the city outgrew its mediæval shell, population leaped over the fortifications and spread out into the country. Cologne acquired the fortifications from the nation at a cost of $2,950,000, and converted the encircling belt into an octagonal parkway which separates the old city from the new. It was laid out by experts and adorned with gardens and flowering plants. Upon it were erected fine residences and public structures. The ring strassen of Vienna, Frankfort, Bremen, and others of the older cities have been treated in the same way. They have

been laid out with great care and are the most commanding streets in Europe.

Cologne is a city of 511,042 population. The official projects for its suburban development are like those of most German towns. Uniformity has been discarded and the streets have been made as unconventional as possible. The main traffic thoroughfares are broad and spacious, but the side streets are designed to discourage traffic so as to be cozy, quiet, and restful. They are planned for variety. The checker-board street so universal in America is rarely used in Germany. It is too monotonous. It affords no vistas of house fronts. It is bad for traffic. Many of these suburban streets are designed to be narrow and crooked. Some of them come to a dead end. There are numerous small parks and playgrounds. Streets are planned by artists and are treated with almost reverential consideration.

Even the near-by iron and steel centre of Essen reflects the German idea of what a city should be. Essen is the Pittsburgh of Germany. Here are the iron and steel mills of the Krupp Company. From Essen come the engines of destruction for the armies and navies of the world. Essen has a population of 294,629. It is almost exclusively a mill town, most of the workingmen being employed by the Krupp Company. The city has few natural advantages, and does not compare in beauty with Düsseldorf or Cologne. Yet it is clean, wholesome, and free from

the dirt and ugliness that characterize Pittsburgh, parts of Cleveland, Chicago, and Milwaukee, wherever the furnace and the foundry have made their home. There are parks and trees. Many thousands of workingmen are comfortably housed by the Krupp Company or the municipality in beautiful detached cottages or in model tenements surrounded by gardens.

Rents in Essen, as in other German towns, have risen with great rapidity in recent years, thus causing congestion and overcrowding. In the private apartments workingmen's rooms rent for thirty dollars a year. In contrast with this the one-family houses of the Krupp Colony rent for from forty-nine dollars to fifty-five dollars a year. The Krupps describe their plan of housing as "one of enlightened selfishness, serving in the first place to attract workers and foster a filial loyalty, as shown by the small number of strikes at the works. *By being a landlord itself it heightens the competition among the other landlords.*" This is the motive of cities and cooperative building societies. By building houses they check the rise of rents and the greed of private landlords.

Around the city of Essen are garden colonies like the garden villages of England, one of them, Altenhof, being inhabited only by retired and infirm workmen, who occupy the cottages rent free. There are wonderful hospitals, sanatoriums, and convalescent

homes. Even in Essen the spirit of the fatherland, that holds human life in such high regard, prevails in the minds of city officials and employers.

As one sails up the river Rhine, city after city presents the same finished appearance. The river banks are not disfigured with factories, warehouses, and private docks such as line the water-fronts of our cities. Nor are they appropriated by the railroads. In Bonn, Coblenz, Mainz, and Wiesbaden the embankments are clean, orderly, and beautiful. Landing stages are provided for passenger boats and freight craft; there are wonderful harbors with hydraulic and electrical cranes for the economical handling of freight; there are public bath-houses and enclosed basins for pleasure-boats. The embankment is a promenade-way and is lined with trees. There is provision for the widest possible use of the waterways for business and pleasure. The water-fronts of rivers, canals, lakes, or inland water-ways are almost always in public rather than in private hands.

Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck are city states. They are the only free cities which remain of the old Hanseatic League. They occupy a position in the empire similar to that of Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, or any one of the twenty-five states that compose it. They have about the same status as would an American state and city combined. And they are as proud of their independence as were the Romans, the Florentines, or the Genoese of earlier days. For

centuries they were members of the Hanseatic League of towns; for centuries they maintained their liberties against the encroachments of surrounding powers. They had fleets and armies of their own; they made war and treaties. They became rich in wealth and in commerce; they developed a life of their own and created among their people a local pride that continues to distinguish these cities even to-day. It is a greater honor in Hamburg to be one of its senators or burgomasters than to occupy a seat in the Imperial Reichstag.

Hamburg and Bremen are more like American cities than any in Germany. Officials think in terms of business, of commerce, of the promotion of overseas shipping. The street railways of Hamburg are in private hands, and if one comes from Düsseldorf or Frankfort, where public ownership prevails, the difference in service, in the courtesy of employees, and in the many provisions for comfort, that seem to follow in England and Germany as a matter of course on public operation, is at once manifest. Nor is there that concern for the welfare of the people, for recreation and beauty, that one finds in the south German towns, where the business men have risen above a limited commercial point of view. The impression one gets of Hamburg is of a city that is run for business.

Hamburg is situated on the river Elbe, seventy miles from the sea. Its harbor is its life. The har-

bors of Boston, New York, and many other seaport towns in America have far greater natural advantages, but Hamburg has developed its limited opportunities until it has become the greatest seaport on the continent and, along with Bremen, is the point of clearance for the trade of Germany, Austria, and Russia. Its chief competitor is Antwerp. The foreign trade of the city is colossal. The harbor and the docks are owned by the city and are equipped with railway tracks, warehouses, and wharves to facilitate the handling of vast quantities of freight in the most economic and speedy way possible. This is characteristic of German harbors. The docks and warehouses and machinery for transshipping freight from vessel to vessel or from water to land are all under public control and are operated as a unit.

But the thing that distinguishes the harbor of Hamburg is its free port, which is a survival of the old free city. Inside the main harbor is a free harbor into which ships can come, load and unload, ship and transship cargoes without the payment of tariff duties. Customs dues are only paid when goods enter the country. When Hamburg became part of the empire it abandoned its free-trade policy but retained a free harbor to protect its trade and commerce. Goods may be brought into the free port and reshipped to other vessels or stored in warehouses without visitation from the customs authori-

ties. Under this arrangement vessels from the Orient and the Occident, from North and South America, from England and Africa can transship their cargoes and leave for other parts as freely as in an English port. The free harbor is a clearing-house or counter through and across which individuals and nations do their bartering on a large scale.

Experience has shown that commerce will travel many miles to avoid a tariff wall. For commerce hates customs barriers, and Germany has lured the vessels of the world to the North Sea by this simple device for avoiding the disasters which everywhere follow the imposition of customs taxes.

In the heart of Hamburg is the Alster, which consists of two lakes which form the recreational centre of the city. Years ago the Alster was low-lying marsh-land of little value. Some of the land belonged to the city, some of it was acquired by purchase. The land was then deepened and reclaimed as a water park. Surrounding it on three sides is the residential part of the city, so that Hamburg somewhat resembles Geneva. The shores are laid out in parks and driveways with frequent gardens. In the business section the water-front has been converted into a wide esplanade with cafés and restaurants. In other sections are public bath-houses, while the Alster itself is covered with innumerable motor-craft and sail-boats. Small power-boats do a thriving business to the many cafés which sur-

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round the lake, where the population gathers in the evenings and on holidays. Navigable canals run in many directions upon which a large part of the local traffic is carried on. With the exception of Venice, probably no city in the world possesses as thoroughly developed and as intensively used system of inland water-ways as does Hamburg.

The buildings which surround the Alster are of harmonious architecture. Their height and distance from the roadways are fixed by the city in order that the entire territory shall resemble a parkway.

The Alster is probably the most beautiful piece of inland water in any city in the world. Charles River Basin, in Boston, is the only water-way that compares with it in this country. It is almost the only attempt made by our cities to conserve our wonderful advantages in this respect.

Berlin, like Boston, is a city within a circle of cities. Its population (1910) was 2,064,153. To the casual traveller the charm of Berlin is a manufactured charm, much as is its architecture, its parks, its art. It is pre-eminently a new city which the present Emperor has determined should vie with Paris in its splendor. But Unter den Linden fails to be a second Champs Elysées. It does not compare with the Ring Strasse of Vienna. The commanding group of buildings about the Lustgarten, with the imperial palaces, opera-house, university, cathedral, and museums, is imposing in its splendor. The

Sieges-allee in the Tiergarten, with the statues of the Brandenburg rulers, has never commanded the admiration of the Berliners, nor has the new Reichstag building at one of its ends on the Königsplatz.

Berlin is distinguished for its beautiful suburbs, for the planning projects of the surrounding towns, as well as for its municipal undertakings, hospitals, sanatoriums, labor bureaus, and care of the poor. Its administration is a model of efficiency and far-sightedness. The city has a big municipal sense and officials seem to think in metropolitan proportions. It is, and for a generation has been, consciously built as the capital of the empire. Now a Greater Berlin planning project is being undertaken, for which prizes amounting to $40,000 have been offered, and for which the architects and town-planners of all Germany competed. Just as Paris was planned by Louis XIV and the two Napoleons, so Berlin is dreaming of a truly cosmopolitan city, planned from centre to circumference as a capital worthy of the ambitions of the fatherland.

The system of sewage-disposal is one of the great undertakings of the city. In former times Berlin drained its sewage into the Spree, but with the completion of a new water supply proper drainage was deemed necessary, not only for the health of the city, but as a means of keeping pure the rivers and canals which intersect it. After prolonged study the city adopted a system of natural purification by using

the sewage as fertilizer on the city-owned farms bought for the purpose. To the north and south of the city are municipal sewage-farms, with a total area of 40,000 acres, purchased as agricultural land many years ago. The city is divided into drainage districts according to the topography of the land. The sewage from various districts converges at centres from which it is pumped to the sewage-farms on the different sides of the city. Here it is treated and spread out over the land, which, by this process, has been converted into the richest sort of soil.

When acquired, the land of the disposal farms was of little value for intensive agriculture. Nearly $4,000,000 was spent in laying out the property, in trenching and preparing it for cultivation, and in equipping it with necessary improvements. Six thousand acres are leased in small holdings to cultivators, while the remainder is cultivated by the city itself. The total cost of the undertaking exceeded $30,000,000, but the indebtedness has become little more than nominal through the increase in the value of the land. The sewage-farms alone could be sold for more than enough to liquidate the total city debt for all purposes. Aside from this, they are a source of profit. For intensive cultivation upon the enriched soil has made the farms enormously productive. They have been laid out in orchards and nurseries. Big crops of vegetables are grown on the market-gardens. The whole territory round about

the farms is clean and wholesome and apparently free from any unhealthy or unpleasant odors such as would be expected from the surface use of the sewage of a city of 2,000,000 people.

One returns to old Germany as he journeys to the south through Dresden, Nuremberg, and Munich. Especially does the old town of Rothenberg suggest the life of mediæval Germany. By official decree the city has been protected from invasion by railroads, street railways, and modern innovations. The old walls, the narrow streets, and overhanging structures are carefully preserved, as is the institutional life of the city. Rothenberg is a monument of the past, as carefully preserved as are the art treasures of the country's museums.

More than any other city in Europe, unless it be Paris or Florence, Dresden makes a commercial return from its beauty. It is a residence city par excellence. There is a permanent English, American, and foreign colony that numbers many thousands. Millions are brought annually to the city by travellers and permanent residents. With all its beauty, Dresden is a factory town with a great variety of industries. It has grown with great rapidity and has a present population (1910) of 546,882. But industry has not been permitted to disfigure the city; it has in no way diminished its charm. There is no dirt or smoke, no suggestion of the towering chimneys of ugly factories, nothing of the pervasive com-

mercialism of the British and American city. Industry is subordinate, no matter how important its claims may be. Nor is there much obvious poverty, although poverty of course exists.

I do not remember ever to have been oppressed by the factory in any town in Germany, with the possible exception of Essen, Barmen, and Elberfeld, although I spent months with business men in factories and industrial districts. While Germany has devoted her efforts for the promotion of industry, she has not permitted it to become a nuisance to the community.

Dresden is the capital of Saxony, one of the kingdoms of the German Empire. It was planned as a capital city long before city-planning became a recognized art. The palace of the King forms the centre of a group of buildings, including the cathedral, the art gallery, and the new town hall. The Zwinger is an enclosed garden of Renaissance architecture connected with the palace group. There is the most perfect harmony in the architecture of these buildings, which rise high above the Elbe, still navigable from the sea at Hamburg. The high banks are terraced down to the water's edge with a series of embankments. Below is a busy river traffic; at intervals bridges of splendid design span the river, while the embankment itself is a promenade-way which has earned for itself the name of the "Balcony of Europe." The rulers of Saxony were lovers of the

fine arts. They encouraged the opera, built palaces and museums, and gathered together the masterpieces of the world which draw thousands to the city each year.

Close by Dresden is the garden-city of Hellerau, the most successful garden-city in Germany. It is but a few years old but has led to the promotion of a score of similar projects.

Housing experts in Germany, as in Great Britain, look upon the garden-city as the most promising of all proposals for the housing of the working-classes. Dresden, too, has just completed what is said to be the most complete slaughter-house in the world. It cost over $4,000,000 and is almost as artistic in its architecture as a world's fair. Here all meat sold in the city must be slaughtered under city supervision and by the most humane methods possible.

In 1911 an exposition of hygiene was held in Dresden. It was first suggested by a private individual but was financed by the city and the state. It was planned on an ambitious scale and was designed to teach Germany what is being done all over the world for the prevention of disease and the promotion of health. There were models of hospitals and sanatoriums; there were exhibits of the common diseases so portrayed by photographs and illuminated models as to be easily understood even by children. There were kinetoscopic exhibits of class gymnastics and photographs of methods for improving the health

of school-children, as well as elaborate displays of the value of food products. School apparatus, playground equipment, all that Germany is doing in its fight for health, was presented to the tens of thousands of adults and children who came to view it from all over the empire. America was almost the only nation not represented, while the meagre exhibits of other countries showed by comparison the nation-wide concern of Germany for the health of her people.

Munich, the capital of Bavaria, has a charm of its own, a charm for many possessed by no other city in Europe. It boasts of its *gemüthlichkeit*, its comfort, of the universal sense of community living. The city has been embellished by extravagant rulers, who bequeathed a heavy indebtedness to Bavaria, but left a heritage of great beauty as well. Yet Munich is a manufacturing city of 593,053 people (1910), while its administration is one of the most enterprising in Germany. Two things especially impress the visitor and characterize the planning of the city. One is the number of splendid civic centres, each with a group of public buildings and each representing a function of the city's life. There is the Hofgarten in front of the palace, to which the people drift on summer afternoons to listen to the music in the open-air cafés. Here whole families visit with their friends. The city's art treasures are housed in

four classic structures about another centre, while the university buildings form another. The city hall, a splendid piece of Gothic architecture, flanks Marienplatz, which was the old market-place of the city. This is the business centre as it was in mediæval times. The towered gates about the city hall have been preserved and the environing architecture has been made to conform to the old. Within the past few years a new centre has been developed on the opposite side of the river about the municipal opera-house.

Munich, like other German cities, is engaged on a comprehensive planning project which includes the suburbs for many miles around. Recently a competition was held which was participated in by engineers and architects. The competitive plans provided for the growth of half a century at least. One of the features of the proposals is the establishment of a large number of new centres in the surrounding suburbs, about which the municipal buildings, school-houses, and other public structures will be erected. These centres will tend to the wider distribution of population and the creation of local activities and life in each suburb.

No other city in Germany has as many splendid vistas as has Munich. This is the second feature which distinguishes its planning. Streets terminate against a public building, terrace, or monument, many of which have no other value than orna-

mentation. Copies of the triumphal arches of Rome have been reproduced across streets, while museums, galleries, and other structures are located at conspicuous spots, usually across a fine avenue, and designed to harmonize with their surroundings.

The city has recently erected a splendid opera-house, to repair its error in refusing to become the patron of Wagner. Musical festivals and an opera season are held each summer to which thousands come from all over Europe. A large subvention is paid to the theatre, as is the custom in many German cities. On the outskirts of the city a group of buildings has been erected as a permanent exposition at a cost of $2,000,000, exclusive of the cost of the land. About the exposition halls is a great garden with restaurants and cafés which is the favorite play-place of the people. Here symphony and military band concerts are given daily. In the buildings various kinds of industrial, electrical, and art exhibits are held for the promotion of efficiency and the attraction of visitors. Similar permanent exposition halls are being built by other German cities in competition with one another for business. They form part of the big-visioned business and educational ideas of Germany. They stimulate industry and attract travellers and have a direct commercial value to the city. Along with Düsseldorf, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and Dresden, Munich

is one of the best examples of big-visioned municipal life in Europe.

Vienna vies with Paris in its claims to be the most splendid city in the world, and here, as in Germany, beauty is the result of the most scientific and intelligent planning.

Prior to 1850 Vienna was most congested. Its population was huddled behind the massive fortifications which completely surrounded the town and restrained it within an area of about one square mile. Round about the fortifications was a broad moat outside of which were military and parade grounds which, for military reasons, had never been built upon. The title to the fortifications and parade grounds was in dispute. They were claimed by the Emperor, the nation, and the city. Finally, in 1857, the controversy was settled by the Emperor and an order was issued for the destruction of the fortifications and the comprehensive planning of the whole territory about the old city. A planning commission was created for this purpose with plenary power to control the entire territory, to locate new buildings, streets, gardens, and open spaces and lay out the surrounding territory.

No large city in Europe was in greater need of a building programme, for population had grown with great rapidity and the inner town was congested to its limits. The suburbs were inaccessible because

of inadequate means of transit and the inability to use the undeveloped territory between the fortifications and the surrounding villages. The opportunity for the building of a splendid city was commensurate with the needs, while the ownership of the land by the community enabled the planning commissions to carry through the project at relatively little cost. The replanning of Paris under Louis Napoleon had necessitated the cutting of arterial boulevards through the most congested part of the city at a total cost of $265,000,000. Vienna was saved much of this expense by reason of the public ownership of the land.

For several years architects and landscape artists were engaged upon plans for the *stadterweiterung*. A portion of the area demolished was converted into the Ring Strasse which follows the line of the old fortifications about the inner town. A second part was laid out in parks and gardens closely contiguous to the Ring Strasse. A third portion was dedicated as sites for public buildings, while a fourth portion was set aside for building lots which were sold to private builders and the proceeds used for the erection of many of the public structures and the laying out of the parkways and gardens. The entire arrangement was carried out systematically as a whole, with far-sighted business intelligence and with the utmost concern for the harmony of the project.

The Ring Strasse is of octagonal form and is bor-

dered with trees and promenade-ways. At intervals there are formal gardens and parkways. Four-fifths of the land was retained for public uses, for parks and as sites for public structures. Flanking the Ring Strasse splendid public structures were erected which include the royal palaces, the Parliament building, and the Rathaus. The University, Royal Opera-House, Cathedral, Palace of Justice, the Arsenal, and the Art Museum were given appropriate locations. All of the details of the building project were laid out nearly fifty years ago, and subsequent building has followed the lines originally projected. About this centre the official and recreative life of the city moves; here the population comes to promenade, to listen to concerts, to sit at the cafés and restaurants. There is so much space between the individual buildings that the effect of the Ring Strasse is of a long, continuous garden. Many buildings are located at the termini of streets so as to secure commanding vistas.

The one-fifth of the land which remained unused for public purposes was laid out for private business and residences. Lots were sold under restrictions as to the kind of buildings that could be erected and the style of architecture that could be followed. The total sum realized from the sale of one-fifth of the land was $80,000,000, which repaid a large part of the cost of the undertaking including the buildings, for the city secured the full value of the land

by holding it until the project had been perfected. Purchasers were induced to erect fine buildings by being relieved from taxation for thirty years on all buildings erected during the first five years, and for twenty-five years on buildings erected in the next five years. By these means Vienna was able to carry forward a colossal planning project at a relatively low cost, and to control its development in the interest of the whole community. It made Vienna one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

The beautification of Budapest, the capital of Hungary, was inspired by Vienna. Following the revolution of 1848, through which Hungary acquired a quasi independence, the Hungarians turned to the building of a capital that would vie with Vienna in its splendor. The two towns of Buda and Pest, which occupied opposite sites along the banks of the Danube, were consolidated in 1873. A commission was then created intrusted with the planning of the city. The river was made the central feature of the plan. Great stone quays were erected on either side extending for miles up and down the river. Below are embankments for passenger and freight traffic; a little higher up are roadways for vehicular traffic, while upon the top broad promenades are carried up and down the river. A new parliament house was erected, near which are the National Academy, the city hall, the custom-house, and other build-

ings. Farther on along the river the quay becomes a broad boulevard devoted to cafés and restaurants frequented by the fashion of the city. On the opposite side and rising high above the river is the Imperial Palace, up to which great stone terraces rise, while the river itself is crossed by bridges of monumental design. Margareta Island, which lies in the middle of the river, is the city's playground. It is laid out with gardens and filled with restaurants, bath-houses, and other public structures which are widely used by the pleasure-loving Hungarians. The buildings of Budapest involved colossal expenditure, but the city has been made one of the most beautiful in the world.

There are many other cities like those enumerated. Mannheim, on the upper Rhine, is the best example of formal city-planning in Germany. It has the largest river harbor of any city in Germany, if not in the world. Düsseldorf and Frankfort-on-the-Main are described in detail in other chapters. Nuremberg retains its old mediæval castles, its walls, moats, and passageways, its cathedrals and market-place, much as they were in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Leipsic is a university and musical centre. It is the seat of the imperial court of appeals. The town hall is of massive architecture, with a great dome which commands the whole city.

In all these cities one is impressed with the solici-

tude for things that our cities neglect as of no public concern. There are countless provisions for comfort and convenience. There is universal beauty and harmony. Ugliness is not tolerated. Business is not permitted to trespass on cleanliness. Communities seem to possess a city sense that has not yet arisen in America and that does not exist in Great Britain or in any other country in Europe. The German city has demonstrated to the world that the city need not be the despair of civilization. Rather it is an agency of great possibilities for its upbuilding.

CHAPTER III

DÜSSELDORF AND MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM

A SHORT ride from the city of Cologne is Düsseldorf, the "Garden-City" of Germany. It has been officially planned as were the garden-cities of Letchworth and Hampstead, as are the proprietary garden suburbs of Port Sunlight and Bournville, in England. The city owns more things and does more things for its people than any city I know. Municipal socialism has been carried far beyond the suggestions of the most radical in this country, and it has been done with the approval of all classes. Yet the city is not governed by socialists; it is governed by business men—by business men who elect the council, choose the burgomaster and the magistrat, and make the public opinion which approves of these things.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Düsseldorf was a small town with but 20,000 inhabitants. For centuries it was a *Hauptstadt,* the capital residence of the Princes Palatine. The city grew but little until the Franco-Prussian War. In 1850 it had but 40,000 inhabitants. By 1860 its numbers had grown to 50,000, while in 1875 it had only 80,695 people. From this time on, however, its growth was rapid. In 1885 population had increased to

116,190, while ten years later it was 175,985. In 1900 it had passed the 200,000 mark, and in 1910 the population had risen to 356,733. The area of the city is approximately 29,000 acres. It covers a larger territory than any city in Germany.

Düsseldorf was not rich in the many palaces, gardens, and monuments which beautify Munich, Dresden, and Berlin. There were no traditions of commercial eminence like those of Frankfort, Nuremberg, Hamburg, and Bremen. It had its old quarter about the city hall and the market-place. There was the old gate upon the river and a moat about the old town, all of which have been religiously preserved. Düsseldorf was not very different from the average American city a quarter of a century ago. It was ambitious for business and population just as are our own cities. It was in competition with Cologne, Duisburg, Essen, Barmen, and Elberfeld, all of which were struggling for eminence in this busy Rhine region from which a great part of the industrial wealth of Germany has come. Düsseldorf achieved eminence by consciously building a city which lured business, wealth, and travellers to it. In a dozen years it has taken rank beside the older cities in beauty and become one of the leading manufacturing centres of Germany as well.

Late in the nineties Düsseldorf cast about for a burgomaster. The city wanted a man with a vision and the experience necessary to carry the vision

into execution. The town council selected Dr. Wilhelm Marx for the post from the competitors who offered themselves. He surrounded himself with ten other experts, who comprise the paid members of the magistrat, and with a town council of sixty members proceeded to build the city in a big-visioned way. He remained as burgomaster for twelve years, and during his administration Düsseldorf carried through more big undertakings than any city I know in an equal length of time.

The city's centre is the Königs Allee, a broad parkway which runs through the heart of the city, and terminates at one end in the business district, and at the other in the Hofgarten. It is a miniature Champs Elysées. It is laid out in formal style and is one of the most finished parkways in Europe. It is flanked on both sides by splendid buildings of harmonious architecture, some of which have been built under plans prepared or approved by the city. At one end of the parkway is a hotel owned by the trustees of the municipal art exposition. At another corner is probably the most artistic department-store building in Europe. Its walls are lined with mosaics and adorned with mural paintings. Its architecture is of the massive perpendicular style which has been developed in such variety in recent years in Germany. The office building of the German steel trust, the Stahlhof, flanks another corner and is more like a palace than a business edifice.

Farther on is a group of government provincial buildings carefully arranged in a harmonious setting about the parkway. Through the centre of the Allee runs the old moat, preserved, as is every bit of water-way, by the German city. At frequent intervals it is spanned by stone bridges ornamented with fountains and symbolic figures of commanding size. On one side of the Allee are cafés and shops, all under the watchful eye of the city, to see that they do not disfigure the beauty of the whole, while the opera-house, art gallery, museum, and post-office are in close proximity.

The Königs Allee is fixed as one of the city's centres, as was the Forum of Rome. There can be no serious change in realty values; there is no excuse for cheap and transitory buildings. For the city controls its own development and establishes business, governmental, and other centres, so that values cannot materially depreciate. Nor are "tax-earners," such as disfigure the average American city, permitted. By some means the German city prevents the irregular, speculative development so common in this country. To this municipal centre the municipal tram-cars come. Metal signs indicate the routes and destinations of the cars. The Allee is the centre of the city's life, with provision for business, recreation, and refreshment. To this parkway the people come in the evenings and on holidays for rest and play.

The banks of the Rhine at Düsseldorf were low-lying marsh-land. Retaining-walls were erected for miles along the river front within which land was made for park purposes. A promenade-way extends along the top of the embankment, from which stone steps and driveways lead down to the freight and passenger-boat landings below. There is an enclosed harbor for pleasure-craft. Along the river front are frequent municipal bath-houses, while the river itself is crossed by a splendid bridge whose approaches are ornamented in a commanding way. The central pier carries the gigantic figure of a lion, symbolical of Düsseldorf. Upon the made land, fronting on the river, a group of government buildings has been erected, while farther along is the permanent art exposition building in which annual art and industrial exhibits are held. Here the Düsseldorf school of art is encouraged. Between these buildings and the river front are gardens, tennis-courts and playgrounds, all maintained in harmony with the whole.

Toward the city, from the art exposition building, the embankment narrows into an esplanade or Rhine Promenade, like that of the Seine at Paris or the Victoria Embankment of London. Steam and street railway tracks have been laid below the upper level for handling light freight from the river. But the commercial uses in no way impair the beauty of the river front for pleasure and recreation.

Farther along is the new harbor, first opened by the city in 1896, and greatly extended in 1902 by the reclaiming of the foreshore of the river. The original cost of the harbor was $4,500,000. In area the harbor is among the largest on the Rhine. Its turn over increased 300 per cent. in the first ten years after its building and now amounts to 1,100,000 tons per year. Under the Rhine Navigation act, which was passed to encourage the erection of harbors, cities are not permitted to draw profit from their harbor dues, but the indirect effect of their construction has been to stimulate greatly the commerce and industry of the city.

These docks, as in other German cities, are marvels of construction. The most modern hydraulic and electrical machinery has been installed, which is operated in connection with the warehouses and state-owned railways to minimize the cost of transshipment of freight. There are harbors for lumber, for petroleum, for coal, and for general merchandise. The grain harbor is connected with elevators into which the boats are unloaded by mechanical means. Similar terminal facilities are provided for other kinds of freight. The whole undertaking is operated in harmonious co-operation with the state-owned railways.[1] The opposite bank of the Rhine was also

[1] For a description of the type of inland harbor erected along the Rhine, see Chapter IV, *Frankfort, an Experiment Station in Business Administration.*

reclaimed. It was low land covered with unsightly dwellings which were torn down and the long, shelving shore developed into a recreation park.

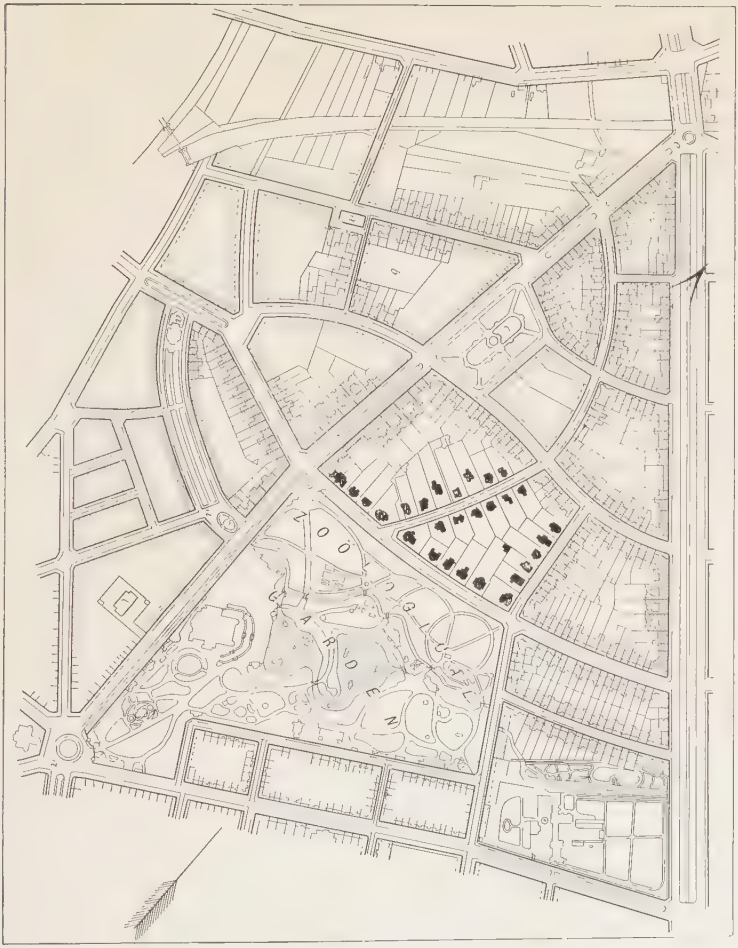
All these provisions for commerce, for traffic, for beauty and recreation form part of a well-developed, officially approved plan of city building. Nothing is left to chance or the unregulated license of private business or the land speculator. The city has been built as a unit, much as Gary, Indiana, was planned by the Steel Corporation. Gary was planned for the making of iron and steel; Düsseldorf was planned for people.

Shortly after my arrival I called upon an old acquaintance who was a retired business man. His house was close by the retail business district. He had lived there for many years and desired to end his life in his old home. He told me that a few weeks before he had been annoyed by noises in the adjoining house. He notified the municipal authorities, who sent an inspector to learn the cause of the disturbance. It was discovered that the premises were being used by a goldsmith and that the noises were those of the tapping and hammering of the artisans on the metals. The noise was not loud and would hardly be considered a nuisance in this country, but the authorities promptly notified the goldsmith that he must remove his shop to another section of the city. For German cities make special provision for factory districts. They compel shops

to locate upon the railway tracks, in the suburbs, and on the lee side, away from the prevailing winds, so that dirt and smoke will be driven away from the city. Factories can locate nowhere else. This is the common practice in German cities. It explains in part their cleanliness and the absence of that obtrusive industrialism that characterizes the cities of America and England. All this is of real advantage to the factory-owners, for it insures them the best of transportation facilities by rail and water as well as proximity to the working-class residence districts. It also protects residence property from depreciation by shops and factories.

Every part of the city has been planned with the same foresight and care as the railway station, the river embankment, and the Königs Allee. Undeveloped land, far out in the suburbs, has been laid out in detail for many years to come. The maps in the city hall show the location of proposed streets and boulevards. They indicate the land to be used for parks, open spaces, and sites for public buildings, all selected in anticipation of the city's growth and purchased at their agricultural value. The width, style, and character of streets are planned with reference to the use to which they are to be put.

To these plans the owner and the builder must conform. They are not permitted to destroy the harmony of the whole or use their property in such a way as to injure their neighbors. Beauty, orderli-



BUILDING PLAN OF SUBURBAN ALLOTMENT, DÜSSELDORF.

Showing method of street planning, style of house permitted, and generous allowance for open spaces and boulevards. Streets are from 60 to 135 feet wide. Black building dots indicate that these sites are reserved for houses for one or two families. The other shadings show similar restrictions, some sites being restricted to houses for one or two families and others for two or three families, as well as indicating the type of building permitted. A large amount of space is required to be left vacant in front of and in rear of buildings.

ness, and comfort are the first consideration. Sites for school buildings, for little city centres, have been purchased in advance of their increase in value. Some sections of the surrounding territory are reserved for mills and factories. Neighboring property is set aside for workingmen's cottages or apartments. In other sections the land is dedicated to villas and more expensive residences.

Everywhere, even in the heart of the city, the height of buildings is limited. Rarely in any German city may buildings exceed in height the width of the street. The area that can be covered by buildings is also determined beforehand. Houses must be so located that there will be a certain frontage devoted to gardens, while the houses themselves must be a certain distance apart. Thus the tenement and the slum cannot reappear. Nor can the character of the section be changed without the assent of the city. In this way values are protected from the selfishness of a single individual who may destroy the value of a whole neighborhood by the erection of factories or buildings which are a nuisance to the neighborhood.

The city is like a feudal overlord. It says in effect to the land-owner: "Whatever value your land enjoys is due to the city. We, all of us, have created its value. You in turn must so use your land that it will not injure the community which has enriched you. The city is paramount. Its people are sov-

ereign. To some extent you must subordinate your private rights to the common welfare just as you do your personal actions."

In America a man may do what he wills with his land and the courts protect him in his actions. He may erect a dirty factory in the heart of the residence district. He may put up a twenty-story skyscraper and destroy the light of his neighbor. He may maintain a miserable tax-earner in the midst of a fine business district. He may lay out mean and narrow streets on his allotment, may pave and sewer them as he wills, or use the territory for anything that suits his fancy.

There is no such license in the German city. The city is first in the eye of officials and citizens. And the streets are treated with almost as much reverence as a great public building. And streets, parks, and open spaces, the suburbs and the water-fronts, the fixing of building zones and the height of buildings are all the work of the expert, trained to the calling of town-planning just as is the engineer or the architect.

Radiating out from the business centre of Düsseldorf are broad, parklike thoroughfares through which the life of the city moves. They are arranged like the ribs of a fan. The parkway in the centre is planted with trees, flowers, and formal gardens. There are benches where the people gather in the evening. The street-railway tracks are placed on

either side of a parkway and are sodded to keep down the dirt and noise. On either side of the tracks are roads for vehicular traffic. These radial avenues are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet wide and are so arranged that one can traverse almost any section of the town along a beautiful shaded roadway. Round about the city is a circular boulevard like the Ring Strasse of the near-by city of Cologne.

Out at the extremity of one of these radial thoroughfares is a city woods which covers the hills on one side of the city. They have been left in their natural condition, and on a holiday or Sunday they suggest fairy-land, with the long, straight-trunked trees, clean of foliage up to twenty or thirty feet, and with pathways running up and down the hillside filled with people.

Such municipal forests are common in Germany, and Switzerland. They are not parks in the American sense, but are preserved in their natural state and are used for tramping, for picnics, for all kinds of recreation, as well as for the cultivation and sale of timber. In many cases these public forests have been owned for centuries.

Farther on is the Düsseldorf race-track, where officers of the army and ambitious business men ride their blooded horses several times a year. To these meets, which are social events like the Ascot in England, the wealth of the neighborhood gathers.

The races are orderly and well conducted, the betting being under government supervision. The German horse-race is in striking contrast with that of America or England. It partakes of the spirit of the German city, which seems to insist that anything that is worth doing should be done in the best way possible.

While the development of Düsseldorf seems to have been adequately provided for, for a generation to come, its officials are not content with what has been achieved. The growth of the past twenty years suggests the possibility of metropolitan proportions. To anticipate this probable growth, the city invited town-planners to compete for a still more comprehensive project. And as an aid to the competitors, topographical surveys, maps, studies of land and building values, statistics of traffic, of industry, and the density of population were prepared by the city. A prospectus was issued which announced that the successful plan must provide for the future development of steam, water, and electric traffic, for health and for beauty. Existing public buildings are to be retained as far as possible. Suggestions are to be made for the extension of existing streets and tramway lines as well as of the steam railways. Territory for industrial uses must be designated, with provision for workingmen's dwellings as well as the traffic arrangements with surrounding cities.

Residential quarters, with plans for dwellings for

persons of large means as well as the location and style of workingmen's cottages and apartment houses, are to be included. The city is planning a new city hall which is to form part of the competitive designs. Provision is also to be made for an arts and crafts school building, a museum, concert hall, public garden, and a city theatre. Sites and plans for market halls were requested and the best means for the bringing in of food. A new slaughter-house is to be built. Playgrounds, parks, and open spaces were to be included in the plan as well as sites for primary and secondary school buildings. Competitions such as these are common in Germany, those of Berlin, Munich, and Düsseldorf being the most notable.[1]

The officials of Düsseldorf projected their imagination far into the future in calling for this competition, much as did the group of architects who laid out the ground-plan for the World's Fair in Chicago. The day-to-day policy with which American cities are permitted to develop has been superseded by intelligent prevision for the future.

Municipal administration is a trained profession in Germany, and Düsseldorf has recently opened a college for the education of officials in city administration and town-planning. The curriculum covers two semesters of three months each, at the end of

[1] Prizes were awarded to five competitors and a description of their plans with maps and drawings was published by the city, entitled, *Sonder-Katalog für die Gruppe Städtebau der Städteausstellung zu Düsseldorf*, 1912.

which time students are required to take a graduating examination. The course covers such topics as municipal law and administration, the labor question, the relief of the poor, sanitation, and the proper organization of city government. The teachers are for the most part practical men and administrators, university professors and officials connected with city departments. The college is open to those who have had a gymnasium course or who have passed an equivalent examination. A similar college devoted to town-planning has been in operation in Berlin for a number of years.

Düsseldorf engages in the greatest variety of business undertakings, and has carried municipal socialism further than any city in Europe. The gas-works have been owned for many years and involve an investment of $3,750,000. In 1907 the net profits from the plant, above all proper charges, were $304,000. Electric-lighting works were erected in 1890. In 1907 they supplied 2,300 consumers. The investment in the plant is approximately $3,000,000, and the net profit for the year 1907 amounted to $140,000. The prices charged for gas and electricity are lower than in most German cities. The water plant has been owned since 1870. The net profit in 1908, after all charges, was $218,000.

The street railways were the property of a private company up to 1900, when they were acquired by the city. The year before the city took possession

the railways carried 10,000,000 passengers. Eight years later the number had increased to 40,000,000. For some years the system was operated at a loss, but in 1907 it turned over a net profit of $51,000. The investment in the plant is $2,500,000. The tracks are laid close to the pavements so that they offer no obstruction to traffic, while the rails are so solidly embedded that there is little noise or rattle. Cars are clean and freshly painted, the newer ones being models of beauty and comfort. They are more like the private car of a street-railway magnate than a car for ordinary passengers. The rate of fare is two and a half cents.

I do not pretend to know all of the enterprises of this thrifty German city. It carries on a wine business from which it realizes a small profit; it also operates one or more restaurants. As indicative of the way German cities experiment as well as the freedom they enjoy, Düsseldorf appropriated a special fund of $3,750,000 some years ago to be invested in industrial undertakings of a profitable nature identified with the city. It acquired six-tenths of the shares of stock in the Rhenish Tramway Company, which operates electric lines to surrounding cities and carries on an extensive business in land speculation.

In addition the city itself is a land speculator on a large scale, its realty holdings amounting to nearly 2,500 acres. Since 1900 a special fund of $5,750,000

has been set aside with which to buy and sell real estate just as does a private operator. The purpose of the investment, according to the city's official declaration, is "to restrain the unnatural augmentation of the price of land." Through its large land holdings the city is able to compete with private speculators and keep down the price. It also participates in the "unearned increment" which the growth of the city creates.

The city operates a municipal mortgage bank, the first of its kind in Prussia, which has advanced more than $5,000,000 on loans for the building of workingmen's homes. In addition the council has erected twenty houses for workingmen, with one hundred and forty-one apartments, as well as fifty-one separate houses for the same purpose. A home for unmarried people has recently been added partly out of municipal, partly out of private funds left to the city for that purpose. Here, as elsewhere in Germany, private land speculation and the housing problem are controlled in part by municipal competition.

Düsseldorf was a pioneer in a comprehensive housing policy. Ten years ago it realized that the rapid growth of the city created a house famine which private capital was unable or unwilling to satisfy. Its officials were concerned over the question, and in 1902 a report was published by Doctor Meydenbauer in which it was stated:

"The fact that capitalists do not lend much money on mortgages of land and buildings is well known. It had become difficult to obtain credit, especially for a plot of land which had not yet been built upon, in excess of the value of the visible security.

"As capital could not be obtained, house building had come to a standstill. In this way a house-famine was created here as in other towns, the mitigation of which the Town Council was compelled to regard as its task. The way was obvious; the need, created by the disinclination of private persons to advance capital, must be supplied by the credit of the town.

"The Town Council decided at a meeting on the 24th April, 1900, to grant mortgage loans on land in the town district of Düsseldorf, and to appoint a committee to manage the mortgage business in conformity with instructions given by the Council. A grant of $250,000 was made from the town treasury for the beginning of the reserve fund of the new department. For the purpose of obtaining funds the Council resolved to raise a loan of $5,000,000 at 4 per cent. interest for the promotion of the building of dwelling-houses in the town district, by the issue of bonds—the loan to be issued in twenty instalments of $250,000 each, according to the amount granted in mortgage loans, and to be repaid, from the sixth year after the issue of each instalment, by payments of half of one per cent. on the capital to a sinking fund, in addition to the interest laid by. The payment would therefore last 57 years." [1]

Düsseldorf aims at being a model employer. It treats its 4,800 clerks and workmen more generously

[1] *The Improvement of Dwellings and Surroundings of the People: The Example of Germany*, T. C. Horsfall, Manchester, England, p. 85.

than do the private corporations and goes beyond the requirements provided by law in regard to sickness, accident, and old-age insurance. It grants all workmen and employees a retiring allowance as well as pensions for widows and orphans. The wages paid rise with the years of service, while the conditions of work are determined by municipal regulations.

In addition to the savings-bank and mortgage bank, the city operates a pawn-shop where loans can be secured on easy terms and at relatively low rates of interest. A commercial court and trade court decide disputes between masters and employees and arbitrate other controversies arising out of trade matters. These courts enjoy the confidence of all classes. The procedure is very informal. Lawyers are not encouraged and litigation is disposed of quickly and at an insignificant cost. These industrial courts are found all over Europe and are widely used by the working-classes. A few years ago a legal-aid department, where advice is furnished free, was opened. This, too, is maintained by the city. To encourage thrift, the city conducts a municipal savings-bank.

The city also maintains a labor exchange or employment bureau which is a clearing-house for employers and employees. During the winter months emergency work is furnished to men out of employment. In 1909 the city offered work to 1,300

unemployed men. This is a not uncommon practice among German cities.

There are but few private charities in Germany, almost all relief work being administered by the city directly. This is the almost universal policy, it being assumed that the care of the poor is a public rather than a private function. Aid is granted almost exclusively in the form of out-door relief according to the Elberfeld system, in-door institutional relief being confined to the sick, the infirm, and the homeless. The city defends this policy by saying:

"The great value of this system is based upon its maintenance of family life and the economic independence of the persons assisted. The system is administered by persons of both sexes (in Düsseldorf by about 500 persons in all), who give their services gratuitously, and to each of whom a definite local relief district is allotted. The direction is in the hands of a poor-relief board, the members of which are all unpaid. The chairman is, however, an official, a sort of alderman or assistant mayor by profession, who, with the assistance of a numerous body of clerks, first prepares and then carries out the resolutions of the board. In the year 1907 an average of 10,337 persons per day were relieved, with a total expenditure of 384,762 marks ($96,190) in the year. Further 171,930 marks ($42,980) were disbursed for single and special cases of relief, sometimes in supplies instead of in money, in which sum is also included the cost of accommodating destitute persons in the six municipal almshouses and in providing for the homeless in the town asylum."

Orphans and poor children are known as municipal "foster children" and are under the constant care of professional nurses and physicians.

The city maintains a corps of eighteen physicians who give gratuitous service to needy persons, while numerous hospitals, infirmaries, and sanatoriums are provided. The general hospital of the city cost $1,750,000 aside from the land. It is equipped with every resource of medical science, and comprises a group of 25 separate buildings with 914 beds. In connection with the hospital is an academy of practical medicine as well as a society for the rearing of infants. The city also maintains a municipal nursing establishment for convalescent invalids and those who do not require hospital treatment.

The expenditure for the relief of the poor and of orphans increased by 100 per cent. from 1897 to 1907, but the city explains the increase by saying:

"This great increase is no sign of growing poverty but rather of the increasing eagerness of the town administration in the work of help and charity, and the increase would probably have been still greater had not the German workmen's insurance act intervened at the same time to relieve the town."

Public sanitation and hygiene have been carried to a high degree of perfection by German cities during the past twenty years. The public health is a matter of universal concern. The city says of its work in this direction:

"The eagerness in the work (poor relief) above referred to has developed still more remarkably in matters of hygiene. The modern German city, in accordance with the social progress of the time, recognizes it as its duty to change its activities in the sphere of hygienic policing, from the almost exclusively curative policy to one that is in a still higher degree preventive.

"The town has established a special institute for testing food and provisions. It maintains a slaughter house to protect the community from objectionable meat. The use of the abattoir is compulsory on all butchers, and no meat can be killed in the city except in the municipal establishment. A new slaughter house was erected some years ago, which, with the adjacent cattle yards, cost approximately $1,000,000. All the meat slaughtered and used in the city is inspected by municipal veterinary surgeons."

Constant oversight is maintained of the health of the children. On entering school the child is examined by the school physician to ascertain its physical condition. The examination is usually made in the presence of the parents, who are advised as to the food and other precautions to be taken in the care of the child. The school buildings are equipped with gymnasiums and are surrounded with playgrounds which are provided with all kinds of apparatus. As one travels about the country one sees classes of school-children, from six to fifteen years of age, tramping through the country with their teacher, studying trees, flowers, and nature. Similar classes

are seen in the zoölogical and palm gardens as well as in the art galleries and museums. The teaching of swimming is compulsory, and during the summer months the public baths located on the rivers and water-ways are crowded with children under the care of a swimming-master.

Weak-minded children are taught in separate classes in order to permit of individual treatment. Special courses are held for children who stutter, while for those suffering from curvature of the spine and similar diseases, orthopedic gymnastic exercises have been developed. Special schools are maintained in the country for subnormal children to which they are sent until they are able to enter the city schools. Poor children receive a hot breakfast in winter, which is served gratuitously, while holiday camps, milk, and saline bath cures are provided for those in need of rest and relaxation. These and many other precautionary measures are taken by the school and health authorities of Düsseldorf to conserve the child and give it every possible chance to grow up a healthy and efficient member of the community. The administration of Düsseldorf is not dissimilar from that of other cities in these respects. All Germany is engaged in a war on disease.

The new school buildings erected in recent years are models of architectural beauty. They contain splendid assembly halls. The laboratories are well equipped for the teaching of physics, chemistry,

biology, and the sciences. In all of these respects the school administration of Düsseldorf is in keeping with the standards of the empire.

School attendance is compulsory up to the age of sixteen years. The elementary schools contained 36,000 pupils in 1908, distributed among 56 schools with 675 classes and about 700 teachers. This was about 50 pupils to the class. The elementary school curriculum includes courses in manual training for the boys and various kinds of domestic science for the girls. The total expenditure for elementary schools in 1907 was $500,000.

The work of the elementary school is supplemented by from two to three years' additional work in the continuation and technical schools, held mostly in the evening. These schools are designed to train the children in trades, in technical matters, and in domestic science. There are eight such continuation schools in the city, three of which are of a commercial character, two are technical schools, one is a drawing-school for boys, and one an applied art school for the industrial arts. Provision is made for higher forms of art expression in the Royal Fine Arts Academy, an old and celebrated institution under public control.

Above the elementary and continuation school system are a number of high schools or gymnasiums in which the work is specialized rather than general. There is a high school for the training of governesses and a general high school for girls. There is another

school for those who wish to pursue a professional career, as well as a lyceum for girls who desire to study domestic and household economics, such as the rearing of children, house-keeping, sanitation, and public work along the lines of charity administration. The course of study in these high schools is adjusted to vocational needs. The high schools for boys consist of two gymnasiums which prepare for the university, as well as gymnasiums for technical training.

The total cost of the educational system of Düsseldorf amounts to $1,000,000 a year exclusive of the expenses of administration. This was equivalent to a per-capita expenditure of four dollars, which, when the relative salaries and cost of administration are considered, is considerably above the per-capita expenditure of the average American city.

The per-capita expenditure of several American cities of comparable size to Düsseldorf is as follows: Milwaukee, population 350,852, $3.66 per capita; San Francisco, population 402,836, $4.26 per capita; Buffalo, population 405,714, $3.96 per capita; Detroit, population 426,592, $4.00 per capita; Baltimore, population 549,079, $3.32 per capita; Washington, population 321,128, $6.40 per capita. The average expenditure of American cities is below that of progressive German cities, and when the purchasing power of money is considered, the expenditure is very much less.[1]

[1] See *Study of Expenses of City School Systems*, United States Bureau of Education, Washington, p. 90.

The school system of Düsseldorf is supplemented by a number of other agencies which have a distinct educational value. The city owns and maintains a theatre in which high-class operas, dramas, and comedies are produced, which are made available to the poorer classes by cheap tickets and special productions. During the summer special performances are given by the Rhenish Goethe Society. The city owns a splendid concert hall, known as the Tonhalle, in which a restaurant and wine-handling business is conducted. Symphony and military concerts are given here several times a week, as well as productions by the local choral society. The city supports a symphony orchestra of sixty-one players, and provides a musical director who conducts the orchestra and directs the lower Rhine musical festivals which are held every three years.

Düsseldorf was the first city in Germany to erect a public reading-room in connection with its town library. Popular lectures and classes are held during the winter months by the joint action of the municipality and the chamber of commerce, which are frequented by clerks and workingmen. A fine arts gallery, a museum of natural science and history, and a zoölogical garden are maintained, the latter being a favorite recreation centre for the children. All of these agencies are correlated with the educational system. Play is given a cultural value. It is difficult to find a German man or woman who has not

some appreciation of music, of the classical dramatic productions, and a critical sense in these matters.

The budget of Düsseldorf is several times the budget of an American city of equal size. In 1907 it amounted to $28,250,000, or almost $100 per capita. This is nearly five times the per-capita budget of cities like Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, or Chicago. Of the total budget, $21,000,000 was devoted to the operation of the many industrial activities of the city; $1,250,000 was for charges against the debt account, while the balance, or $6,000,000, was expended for municipal administration proper. The total amount collected from taxation was but $2,875,000, or about $10 per capita. Of the latter sum considerably more than one-half is raised by the income tax, which is in the nature of a surtax on the state income tax and is calculated at a certain percentage of the state rate. The municipal rate varies greatly in different cities, the rate in Düsseldorf being 140 per cent., which is below that of any large city in Rhenish-Westphalia, although a few German cities have a lower rate, that of Frankfort being but 90 per cent.

In recent years the policy has been adopted of shifting the burden of taxation from incomes and onto property. Increased taxes are being laid on land and the sales of real estate. In 1907 the land tax yielded approximately $500,000, the tax on the transfer of real estate $250,000, or together about three-tenths of the entire municipal taxes.

The indebtedness of Düsseldorf is also of extraordinary size. In 1909 it amounted to $29,000,000, almost exactly the same as the budget of the city. This has been incurred in the purchase or construction of the street railways, gas and electric lighting enterprises, in the purchase of land and participation in industrial undertakings, in the building of schools, streets, and other municipal activities. The most extraordinary fact about the indebtedness, as stated by the city, is that "No less than 87.3 per cent. of the liability is for industrial undertakings, a proportion not obtained by any other German town." "Consequently," the city says, "even this considerable increase of municipal liabilities is nothing else than a sign and an attendant phenomenon of a highly prosperous town, the administration of which is constantly pursuing higher aims."

As against the indebtedness of $29,000,000 the city possesses assets in excess of $40,000,000, which not only earn the interest charges on the cost, but turn into the city treasury a substantial revenue for the relief of taxation. Less than 13 per cent. of the indebtedness is for undertakings and improvements of a non-profitable kind.

The financial operations of the city for the year 1909 were as follows. The figures are in marks, approximately twenty-four cents. The receipts from municipal undertakings indicate the extent to which municipal socialism has been carried by the city.

FINANCIAL ESTIMATE OF THE TOWN OF DÜSSELDORF FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR 1909

Name of Account	Revenue Marks	Expenditure Marks	Surplus Marks	Extra Grant Marks
A—Town Treasury.				
General administration	854,000	2,354,000	.....	1,500,000
State and provincial objects	.....	859,607	.....	859,607
Communal institutes	2,164,425	1,752,700	411,724	.....
Educational	998,940	4,529,700	.....	3,530,760
Relief of poor and sick	1,011,200	3,040,100	.....	2,028,900
Police	108,000	966,000	.....	858,000
Building	1,503,000	2,695,800	.....	1,192,800
Taxation	11,426,700	110,100	11,316,600	.....
Property	148,800	64,300	84,500	.....
Administration of debt	11,090,000	12,800,000	.....	1,710,000
General	94,935	227,693	.....	132,937
	29,400,000	29,400,000	11,812,824	11,812,824
Deduct loan account extraordinary receipts and expenditure	5,500,000	5,500,000	.....	.....
There remain ordinary revenue and expenditure	23,900,000	23,900,000	11,812,824	11,812,824

No.	Name of Account	Revenue Marks	Expenditure Marks
	B—Independent Accounts		
1	Düsseldorf gas-works	4,900,000	4,900,000
2	Gerresheim gas-works	127,000	127,000
3	Electrical works	2,525,000	2,525,000
4	Water-works, including public baths	1,990,000	1,990,000
5	Drainage	1,932,000	1,932,000
6	Street tramways	6,279,883	6,279,883
7	Docks	1,568,000	1,568,000
8	Slaughter-house	690,500	690,500
9	Cattle-yards	121,000	121,000
10	Endowments and other funds	371,676	371,676
11	Real-estate funds	4,625,000	4,625,000
12	Funds for participating in industrial undertakings	4,615,000	4,615,000
13	Allowances and billeting (soldiers)	46,200	46,200
14	Mortgage admin	5,074,000	5,074,000
15	Savings-bank	47,240,000	47,240,000
16	Reserve savings-bank fund	376,000	376,000
17	Old-age savings-bank	12,500	12,500
18	Collections	338,000	338,000
19	Pawning establishment	1,164,000	1,164,000
20	Observatory	3,930	3,930
21	Town concert hall	248,500	248,500
22	Wine business at above	284,000	284,000
23	Zoölogical Gardens — endowment "Scheidt-Keim"	288,000	288,000
24	Admin. of cemeteries	348,100	348,100
	Total of independent accounts	85,168,289	85,168,289
	Total of town treasury accounts	23,900,000	23,900,000
	Total of budget of loan accounts (extraordinary)	5,500,000	5,500,000
	Total of all municipal accounts	114,568,289	114,568,289

In twenty years' time Düsseldorf has grown from 144,642 to 356,000 inhabitants. It is now sixth of the Prussian cities in point of population and eleventh in all Germany. The manufactures of the city include iron and steel products of every variety and description. It is the principal seat of German tube manufacture. Its machine works, tool-shops, artillery and projectile factories have a world renown. The textile industry is widely developed, as is the manufacture of glassware, bottles, china, and porcelain. Upon the Rhine are great lumber yards with which are allied paper mills and furniture factories. Printing and lithographic establishments, applied art work, chemical and dyeing industries have come to the city in great numbers. The Society for the Promotion of the Industrial Interests of the Rhineland and Westphalia chose Düsseldorf as its headquarters in preference to other competing cities, as did the German iron and steel manufacturers. The German steel trust erected a monumental building called the Stahlhof, which is one of the finest mercantile buildings in Germany.

Düsseldorf is typical of the sort of city that is being built all over Germany. A kind of Bismarckian state socialism animates officials, business men, and citizens, who have united on a bold programme of municipal activities with the greatest willingness and appreciation of the benefits that are to accrue from it. Humanity, business acumen, economy, and

honesty are not uncommon qualities in the German official, but they seem to have been more highly developed in Düsseldorf than in any other city. For Düsseldorf cares for its people as a parent does for its children. It educates them with an eye to the needs of the child as well as of the community. It watches over their health in every possible way. They are protected from the vicissitudes of hard times, of industrial accident, of old age and invalidity. There is provision for pleasure, for recreation, for culture for young and old. The city is the main thing. This has not been done by socialists but by business men, by hard-headed business men, who seem to have seen that this was the best sort of municipal investment that could be made. And it is because of these many activities, it is because of the provision for a happier and more wholesome urban life, that Düsseldorf has become one of the show cities of the world as well as one of the great industrial centres of Germany as well.

CHAPTER IV

FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN—AN EXAMPLE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Frankfort-on-the-Main, in the heart of south Germany, not far from Switzerland, vies with Düsseldorf as an experiment station in municipal life. It, too, suggests the city of to-morrow in its communal self-consciousness, in its bigness of vision, in its fine city spirit. For centuries Frankfort was a free city like Hamburg, Bremen, and Nuremberg. It was one of the centres of the rich caravan trade carried on between the East and the West by way of the Danube and the Rhine. Through commerce it became one of the wealthiest cities of Europe, and to-day, with Amsterdam, it shares the reputation of being the richest city per capita in Europe, if not in the world.

The market-place, under the shadow of the Rathaus, is still the city centre as it was in earlier times. Round about it are many beautiful old buildings, formerly the homes of the merchant guilds, which have been preserved unaltered by action of the municipal authorities in the rebuilding operations made

necessary by sanitary and commercial needs. In the old town the streets are still narrow and irregular, the overhanging upper stories of many houses being so close together that one can almost reach from window to window. In the heart of this district, fronting upon the market-place, is the Römer, now the city hall. Here for centuries the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire were chosen, an empire which Voltaire described as being "neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire." To the Römer, delegates came from the loosely federated kingdoms, principalities, and bishoprics to choose the rulers of an empire which traced its lineage from Charlemagne, an empire which persisted for generations after its vitality had passed away because of the hold it had upon the imagination and religious veneration of Europe. But the Holy Roman Empire came to an end and was succeeded by the German federation, which was later fused into a nation by the wars against Austria and France in 1866 and 1870. And because Frankfort sympathized with Austria in the former war, the city lost its independence as a Freistadt. It became a part of Prussia. But Frankfort still clings to its traditions of greatness, and during the last quarter of a century a modern city has been built around the old town that surpasses the splendor of its mediæval days.

The Römer is a series of irregular buildings almost surrounded by the old houses of the merchants

and guilds, whose fronts are still ornamented with paintings and preserved by the city in their mediæval beauty. The banquet-hall of the Römer has been ornamented with mural paintings descriptive of the historical traditions of the empire. The Römer, now the Rathaus, is the centre of the city's life, as it is in most German cities. For the city hall is more than an official building; it is a municipal palace on which vast sums are spent to make it worthy of the city's life. Here banquets, receptions, and public celebrations are held. All over Germany the city hall is built with something of the reverence that animated the cathedral builders in earlier centuries. It is the most commanding structure in the city. Munich, a city of but 593,000 people, has recently erected a Gothic city hall which cost $4,500,000 exclusive of the cost of the land. The new city halls of Leipsic and Dresden are of splendid proportions and are built in the massive style which characterizes much of the new architecture of Germany. Cities of a quarter of a million inhabitants spend more generously on their town halls than do cities of three times that population in this country.

Like Düsseldorf, Frankfort has grown with great rapidity. It had but 80,000 people in 1871. Ten years later its population was 137,000. By 1891 its numbers had grown to 179,850, while by the census of 1910 its population was 417,706. The rapid expansion of the city made it necessary to open up the

Frankfort. Municipal Theatre.

Frankfort. Römerberg and the Old Market Place.

old parts of the town. New streets had to be cut through and old streets widened. Frankfort might have destroyed its charm had the city thought only in short-sighted terms of economy. But Frankfort replanned its business centre so as to preserve the narrow, irregular streets within the old town. It left them much as they were in the past. It preserved the old houses, the architecture, and the street adornments as monuments of the city's earlier splendor.

Frankfort is not as large as Cleveland or Detroit, yet it has a $10,000,000 railway station, begun thirty years ago when the population was less than 200,000. This but typifies the attitude of mind of citizen and official, for Frankfort spends in what we should consider an extravagant way and for what our cities would consider useless ends. The mass of the people are poor, while the income, business, and real-estate taxes are so levied that the burden is consciously felt by almost all classes. Despite this fact the city borrows and spends with the vision of a railroad president who abolishes curves, makes cuts, and builds his road with an eye to economy and the elimination of waste. More than $50,000,000 has been invested in the last few years in the purchase of real estate alone. The city owns one-half of the total area within its boundaries, or 12,397 acres. The purchase of land is encouraged by the state, which not only advises the towns to hold on to every

bit of public land but to add to their possessions. Outside of its limits Frankfort owns 3,800 acres more, making its total landed possessions 16,650 acres, which is sixty per cent. of the total area of Cleveland or Pittsburgh, whose areas in 1909 were 26,348 acres and 26,510 acres respectively. One-half of this great estate is the Stadtwald, forest lands acquired from the German emperors at the end of the fourteenth century and now used for the raising of timber for market.

Like Cologne, Frankfort acquired the fortifications about the old town and laid them out in a splendid Ring Strasse. Part of the land was sold to private persons, but on condition that only one building should be erected on each site, while the remainder should be used as a garden. A beautiful opera-house as well as many splendid monuments and public structures have been erected upon the Ring Strasse.

Everything about Frankfort suggests a city of a million inhabitants rather than one of half that number, and the business men justify the big undertakings of the city much as they do their own private ventures. It is bad policy, they say, not to go into debt when the indebtedness is for something which pays its way or is of service to the people. There is no talk of bankruptcy or of heavy taxes driving away business. Yet the total city indebtedness is $48,982,000, or $108 per capita. This is more than

twice the average indebtedness of the American city of the same size. The assets, however, are estimated at $91,500,000.

And because, rather than in spite of its indebtedness and the many things the city owns, the income-tax rate is the lowest of any large city in Germany, being but 90 per cent. of the state rate, or 50 per cent. less than many cities. The business man justifies municipal socialism by reference to the low tax rate and the rapid growth of the city. As a matter of fact, he accepts the idea of municipal trading as the most natural thing in the world. He does not question it; finds it even difficult to discuss it. He feels about the street railways, electric lighting, and other undertakings much as he feels about the plumbing and elevators of his building. They are part of the vital organs of the city, like the sewers and the streets. His mind is not shocked at proposals for new undertakings or a big bond issue that would make officials and business men in America stand aghast. He sees the city as a big collective enterprise, with assets which comprise all the wealth and property of all the people, and with a definite mission to perform. And Frankfort has become a great city largely through the action of the city itself. It is one of the best examples in Germany of the commercial value of conscious city building with an eye to the encouragement of business and the convenience of the people.

The city owns the street railways, which were taken over from a private company in 1898. It also owns its water and electric-lighting undertakings. The gas plant is in private hands. Like other German cities, Frankfort is planned far into the surrounding country, so that succeeding generations will not suffer from bad housing or unsanitary slums. It was Frankfort that first developed the *Wertzuwachssteuer*, or "unearned increment" tax, levied on increasing land values, which since 1904 has spread to nearly every city in Germany and in 1911 was adopted as an imperial tax and applied to land values in all the cities and towns of the empire.

Frankfort was fortunate in having an Oberburgomaster, Doctor Adickes, who dreamed in big-city terms. He thought of his city as did his forebears in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He has been mayor since 1891, and during that time has promoted the greatest number of city undertakings. He saw that the city that served its people most would be served by them in turn; saw that industry and commerce would follow advantages in transportation and distribution. He saw these things related to the life of the city, saw the rôle that conscious city building would play in the future, saw also that the city was a great power for social service, greater than either the state or the nation. And seeing these things, he and the business men associated with him proceeded to build a city for business, for all business

rather than for a few businesses; for all the people rather than for a few people. He realized that the city must think in big terms if it would protect all classes from the privileges and abuses of some classes, and that the rights of the community must be superior to the rights of the individual.[1]

Frankfort lies some distance from the Rhine, on the river Main, which is not a natural water-way for river traffic. This precluded the city from participating in the advantages of other cities that had water connection with the sea. Its industrial progress suffered in competition with Cologne, Düsseldorf, and Mannheim. In order to overcome this disadvantage the city undertook a colossal project which in the bigness of its treatment, though not in its cost, equals the Manchester ship canal. It involved dredging a navigable channel in the river Main in order to make it accessible to Rhine boats. Artificial weirs and locks had to be constructed to retain the water. This work reached its completion in 1897, when a harbor was opened in the west end of the city. This made Frankfort the terminus of Rhine river traffic for this region. The deepening of the river and the building of the first harbor immediately developed a large water traffic, which by 1905 had increased to 1,700,000 tons per annum, or

[1] The attitude of the German city toward social and industrial questions and the proper limits of its activities are set forth in a pamphlet by Doctor Adickes, entitled *Die Sozialen Aufgaben der Deutschen Staedte*, Dresden.

twelve times the tonnage of 1886, before the waterway was opened.

The first harbor soon became inadequate and new provision had to be made to meet the growing business of the city. There was no available land about the original harbor, and the city was compelled to go still farther to the east, where it could plan its development with a free hand. Here it worked out a harbor, transportation, industrial development, and housing programme of the most comprehensive sort. The city acquired an area of 1,180 acres of agricultural land at a relatively low price and in anticipation of any public discussion of the project. Engineers were then employed to plan the whole territory for the various uses to which it was to be put, and 350 acres were deducted for streets, railways, terminals, and embankments along the water basins. A number of harbors were dredged into the land and connected with the river, which were lined with concrete. 110 acres more were used for the harbors proper. After these deductions had been made, 720 acres remained for development purposes, which were laid out for various factory uses, all so connected that the railways, docks, and warehouses could be operated in the most economical manner possible. 150 acres were assigned to miscellaneous traffic, of which 37 acres were dedicated to coal traffic. The 570 acres remaining were set aside for manufacturing sites, of which 135 acres were reserved for large

water-front industries and 435 acres were kept for inland factory locations. The navigable shore line of the various harbors is over 9 miles in length and is connected up with 35 miles of railway track and sidings and 30 miles of streets.

Frankfort, it must be remembered, has a population of only 417,000, and the magnitude of this undertaking is seen by comparing its 9 miles of frontage in this new harbor alone with the few thousand feet owned by such cities as Cleveland and Detroit and the inadequate provision of the latter cities for handling the colossal traffic of the Great Lakes. The harbor accommodations of this small town are comparable to those of a great seaport city like New York or Boston; they are comparable to those of Liverpool or Manchester in the provision made for all kinds of industry and traffic. Even the cost seems colossal for a community of this size, for the total sum involved is approximately $18,000,000, a sum in excess of the total indebtedness of many American cities of the size of Frankfort.

Herein is one of the explanations of Germany's wonderful industrial advance. It is to be found in the intelligent control of the means of transportation by water and rail. They are treated as matters of the utmost public importance and are not left in private hands. Docks and harbors are owned by the cities; they are constructed in close connection with the railways and industrial sections. Canals

intersect the country from one end to the other and are used for the hauling of heavy freight. Water-ways are planned as an integral part of the transportation system and are used as an aid to the upbuilding of industry. The harbor of Frankfort, like that of other Rhine cities, is designed with the completeness of a modern steel plant with every possible equipment for the speedy and cheap handling of freight. Upon the crown of the embankments which surround the water basin are steam railway tracks connected with a great railway terminal not far away. Upon these tracks hydraulic and electrical machines move about and quickly load and unload vessels or freight cars, and transfer their cargoes to land or water or into one of the many warehouses along the embankment. Each harbor basin is dedicated to a particular kind of traffic, either general merchandise, coal, lumber, or grain.

In connection with the harbor a factory district was planned for new industries, and 570 acres of land were dedicated to such uses. The harbor-front locations were laid out so that heavy freight could be landed directly from the boat to the factory. Inside of the harbor line are less expensive locations for smaller plants, all of which are connected with the river and the railway by sidings which bring them into close connections with the best of freight facilities. Every possible provision has been made to promote competition and make it easy for facto-

ries to find a suitable location at a low cost. This is one of the ways in which Germany curbs monopoly. It curbs it through keeping the transportation avenues open to all comers on equal terms and by providing cheap sites and facilities for the upbuilding of new industries.

It was obvious that provision had to be made for workmen for this new district, so the city included a housing project as part of the programme. The city owns the street railways, and laid tracks out into the suburbs as well as rapid transit lines to distant villages. It was recognized, however, that many of the working-people prefer to live in the city because of the distractions and amusements which it offers, so an area of 157 acres was acquired close by the industrial section for the building of workmen's houses. Upon a portion of this land houses are being built by the city, of which 550 have already been erected. In the immediate neighborhood a large park was laid out with recreation grounds, swimming and bathing establishments, playgrounds and foot-ball fields. Not far away is one of the city forests. Together with the private property developed, the harbor and industrial undertaking increased the area of the city by 50 per cent., and when it is completed, provision will have been made for every need of this new community on what a few years ago was cheap agricultural land of little value.

And the whole undertaking is being paid for in a manner quite usual in Germany. Officials and the public generally seem to resent the idea of enriching private speculators by the community's activities. So the city is financing the project by retaining the unearned increment which the development created. Sites are being sold or leased on a basis which is expected to reimburse the city for the greater part, if not the whole cost, of the undertaking and leave the harbor and all the improvements in the possession of the city without any indebtedness whatever. Locations on the harbor proper are let to individuals on short terms of from ten to thirty years, while the factory sites are sold outright and on easy terms to encourage industry. An instalment of 10 per cent. only is required on the purchase price, the balance being payable in ten years' time. And in order that the land may be used for industry rather than speculation, the city provides in the contract of sale that the site must be used for the purpose agreed upon, while the buyer is required to improve the property within a certain period of time, previous to which the land must not be resold.[1]

Considerable difficulty was experienced by Frankfort in the planning of the suburbs by reason of the fact that the land was owned by a large number of

[1] The facts relating to the above industrial undertaking and harbor project are taken from an official report of the city by H. Uhlfelder.

proprietors whose lots were unfit for building after the streets had been opened through. It was necessary to devise some plan for the protection of these owners and at the same time permit the city to plan the streets without reference to lot lines. Frankfort met the problem by working out a method by which all of the land within a new territory is joined into a single plot, the lot lines being wholly disregarded. Out of this plot the land needed for streets is first taken, when the land remaining is then carved into suitable building sites, of which each owner receives a share corresponding in size and value to the area taken for the redistribution less the amount taken for streets. But the carrying out of such a redistribution required the consent of all the owners, and if any one refused to consent the project had to be abandoned. To free the city from this difficulty the Lex Adickes was enacted, under which the city is able to make the redistribution if one-half of the land-owners, who own one-half of the land, consent to it. In addition the act empowered the city to take as high as 40 per cent. of the total area affected for streets and to leave only 60 per cent. for redistribution among the owners. No payment is made by the city for the 40 per cent. so taken.

The development is done by the city usually in advance of any house construction. Sewers are built in the centre of the street and seem adequate for all

time. Gas, water, telephone, and electric mains are laid at the same time and connected to the curb. The service pipes are sometimes placed under the sidewalks close by the building line, so that it will not be necessary to tear up the pavement in order to get access to them. Once completed, the streets need not be disturbed. Nor are warring public-utility corporations permitted to tear up the pavement for the installation or repair of pipes or conduits. All of the work has been done before the street is dedicated to use. Usually the street is not surfaced until the houses have been constructed, when it is faced with asphalt, macadam, or stone, as may be provided by the council.

The financing of improvements is made as convenient as possible to the owners, who are assessed for its cost according to foot frontage or advantages received. The city advances the money and carries the total cost as a lien on the premises for such length of time as may be necessary to enable the land to be sold by the owners, the assessment becoming due when the property is built upon.

The streets of Frankfort are officially divided into main thoroughfares, promenades, and ordinary streets. The main thoroughfares, which radiate from the city centre, are sufficiently wide to carry railway tracks and are lined with trees planted along the sidewalks. The boulevards or promenades, which form a ring around the town, have a promenade-way

of twenty-three feet for pedestrians in the centre, which is planted with rows of trees and flower-beds on either side. On each side of the promenade-way are asphalt or macadamized carriage-ways. The suburban quarters are usually laid out with gardens in front of the houses.

A longitudinal study of the leading streets of the city shows a large concrete sewer in the centre of the roadway approximately ten feet under the surface. On one side are conduits for the fire and telegraph system and on the other for the distribution of mail. The gas and water mains and electric lighting and telephone conduits are laid under the sidewalks on both sides of the streets. They are laid at various depths and are easily accessible without tearing up the pavement. They, too, are laid by the municipal authorities. For the whole roadway is built as a single job, from property line to property line.

The cleaning of the street is done by the city itself by direct labor rather than by contract. The city is divided into six districts with a chief inspector in charge of every two of them. Each district has a central depot containing offices, workshops, and a mess-room for the workmen fitted up with cooking and heating arrangements. Here all the machines and tools are kept and the horses are stabled. The streets are cleaned at night by gangs, each of which consists of fifteen men with one watering-cart, two

sweeping-machines, and two dust-carts. The water-carts begin their work shortly before midnight and are followed by the sweeping-machines and later by the dust-carts. All the work is completed by eight o'clock in the morning. Each gang is allotted a certain amount of work which must be completed within the specified time. Dust-carts follow the sweeping-machines and immediately gather up the sweepings. The asphalt streets are cleaned every night except in wintry weather. They are first thoroughly drenched with water and the accumulated sludge is hauled away. During the day uniformed white wings keep the street in immaculate condition. Asphalt streets are sanded in frosty weather and also after a rain. House-owners are obliged to clean their own sidewalks three times a week, to sand them during the winter and remove the snow and ice. This work is, however, done by the city on request, in which case a charge is made.

Refuse from the houses is removed three times a week in specially constructed covered dust-carts which make collections between ten o'clock at night and seven o'clock in the morning. The refuse must be placed in tins provided for the purpose, all of the prescribed size. Unique appliances have been devised to reduce the dust and dirt involved in the removal of ashes and refuse. The dust-carts are constructed with small openings in the side closed by shutters. These shutters open automatically

when the full ash-bins are placed against them and close again when the bin is withdrawn. The cart is emptied by being tipped on hinges at an angle that ejects the refuse from the rear.

CHAPTER V

TOWN PLANNING AND CITY BUILDING

German cities were unprepared for the industrial awakening and the rapid increase in population which began in the eighties. Those of the south were surrounded with fortifications over which the population spread into the outlying districts. Land speculators began to lay off allotments with no other concern than their own immediate profit. Rings of mean streets appeared round about the old towns, while tenements were erected into which the population was herded much as it is in England and America. There was no adequate provision for industry, and factories located themselves anywhere without regard to the community, just as they do with us. In addition the old towns were built for military protection. The roadways were narrow and crooked. They were not designed for street railways or business traffic. There was little provision even for vehicles in mediæval times, when industry was of a domestic character and the cities were congested into the smallest possible areas as a means of protection from their many foes. Nor was there much concern for health and sanitation in those days. The sewers were inadequate, the streets were

badly paved, and the municipal life was for the most part grouped about the court or the market-place.

This rapid urban growth threatened these old cities just as the tenements, springing up all around them, threatened the health and beauty of the community. The inner towns were not adjusted to modern industrial needs, while new standards of sanitation and health became necessary, as did more generous provision for air and light. Provision had to be made for the mill and the factory, for the railway, and for terminals. Parks, open spaces, and schools had to be provided in response to the democratic movement and the enlightenment of the state which has gone hand-in-hand with the industrial revolution.

The art of town planning had its birth in these necessities. It was a protest against the threatened destruction of the old towns and the speculative building of the new. Men saw that the city was a permanent thing rather than a fugitive expression. They realized that cities would grow in the future as they had in the past; and realizing these things, Germany determined that the city should be built with an eye to the needs of all its people as well as its highest industrial efficiency. And in a comparatively short time Germany has built industrial communities as beautiful as Washington. There are factory towns as full of the joy of living as Paris. There are cities whose business is conducted with more scrupulous honesty, more scientific efficiency, and

more devoted pride than that which the average business corporation in America commands. There is order and completeness. The city is planned from the bottom up and from centre to circumference. Apparently nothing is left to chance. There are municipal artists, architects, planners, engineers, and financiers, to whom the building of cities has become a science, just as much a science as the building of engines.

Within the past fifteen years almost every German city has undertaken a more or less ambitious planning project. Almost all of them have an official plan carefully worked out in detail for years in advance of present needs.

There are experts who make a profession of planning cities. They go from city to city and confer with local officials on definite problems. They are employed to lay out suburbs, plan city centres, locate public buildings, project new streets through old quarters, and give advice on health, sanitation, and housing, as to building regulations and land restrictions. Every phase of the physical life of the city is handled by an expert working in co-operation with other experts on other problems.

In 1901 Stuttgart planned a new suburban development. Before the work was started the city obtained an elaborate opinion on the engineering and architectural problems involved. Similar reports were secured from architects and the surveyor of

buildings. Reports were made upon the hygienic aspects of the work by the local medical officers as well as by an expert from another city, while the social and industrial aspects of the project were surveyed by recognized authorities on the subject. Other experts gave advice on the artistic aspects of the projects, and all of the reports were then published in a volume to enable the citizens to study the proposals. The methods employed by Berlin, Munich, and Düsseldorf, in which cities competitions were held, are described elsewhere.

There is a college of town planning in Berlin, while in 1911 Düsseldorf opened a university of town planning and city administration. A regular periodical, *Der Staedtebau*, is published, and a large literature has made its appearance. During the summer of 1909 an exposition was held in Berlin on town planning.

The exposition was a recognition of the birth of the art of building cities. It was a surprise even to Germany. There were exhibits from all over the country, some of them completed, most of them in actual progress. There were models of suburban developments, of groups of public buildings, of housing experiments. There were studies of the relation of transportation and traffic to city building. Suggested plans for the remodelling of old cities by the opening up of new thoroughfares; the creation of civic centres and the designing of parks and play-

grounds were exhibited, as were artistic proposals for fountains, statues, lamp-posts, street-railway signs, etc. Charts were exhibited showing the density of population, the proportion of rent to income, and the number of families in apartments of different sizes. Later the exhibition was transferred to Düsseldorf, and was subsequently taken to London in connection with the town-planning exhibit of the Royal Institute of Architects. During the summer of 1912 a similar town-planning exposition was held by the city of Düsseldorf.

As a preliminary step to any planning project, cities enlarge their boundaries and take in the surrounding villages and suburban territory. And cities have generally widened their boundaries in recognition of the fact that the urban district should include a wide circumferential area. The area of Düsseldorf is 29,000 acres; of Cologne, 28,800; of Frankfort, 23,203. Having enlarged its boundaries, the city is in a position to control its development, to plan for its future growth. Ordinances are then passed by the town council providing either for a comprehensive plan for the entire city or for the planning of certain suburban areas for residential or business purposes. Competitions are frequently held to which town-planning experts are invited. The city prepares maps, statistics of growth, transportation, and other data, and submits them to the competitors the same as to a private builder. Such

competitions have been held by Berlin, Munich, and Düsseldorf and have awakened great interest. They are not necessarily confined to the planning of an entire city; they are frequently limited to a suburban area, the competitors making suggestions as to the best means for utilizing natural advantages, the style and plan of streets, the location of parks and playgrounds, and the development of the territory in the most intensive and effective way possible. Almost every large city has experts on town planning in the magistrat as well.

The city treats the land on which it is built as an architect treats the site of a structure. It treats it as a unit, with plumbing, circulation, breathing-spots, and centres for the various activities of the community. And when the plans are finally approved by the authorities they must be observed by everybody. Maps of the territory surrounding the city are then prepared on which proposed streets are indicated. To these plans the owner must conform in laying off his property for sale. He is not permitted to plan his land as he wills, to lay out the streets, or determine their width, style, and direction. He may not plat his land as suits his fancy or decide for what it shall be used. The German city treats its foundations as a matter of public rather than of private concern. It plans for generations to come rather than for the day. Private property is subordinate to public use and the rights of the indi-

vidual are controlled in the interest of the whole community.

No municipal problem receives more attention than the building of streets. Their planning engages the best thought of officials and experts. For streets control a city's life. In America no subject is more neglected than this. We have erected fine schools, have laid out some of the most beautiful parks in the world; we have done commendable work in the sewage systems of many cities, but the building of streets has received little attention. For the most part it has been left in private hands. Even the direction and width of streets is determined by land speculators as suits their fancy. They are permitted to put in pavements and sewers even though they are so inadequate that they have to be shortly replaced at public expense.

Washington is almost the only city that planned its street system with any vision of the future. The capital was laid out on paper over a century ago by Charles Peter L'Enfant under the direction of President Washington, with the aim of building a city worthy of the nation. But Washington is almost the only American city that was so planned. Philadelphia controls its street extensions into the suburbs, as do Boston and New York. But even in these cities no attempt has been made to realize the artistic possibilities of streets or to adjust them to a uniform plan. In no department of adminis-

tration have our cities more signally failed than in the planning and building of streets.

German town planners have worked out the greatest variety in streets. For certain purposes the plan is formal or classic, with thoroughfares radiating out from a centre, as do the streets and avenues of Washington. This plan is usually adopted for focal points or in connection with some big city centre where vistas of public buildings are desired. There are radial thoroughfares running out from the centre of the city like the spokes of a wheel as well as parklike boulevards, or Ring Strassen, which surround the city. Many of the streets have sweeping curves so as to secure repeated vistas of the house fronts. Others are narrow and irregular. They are designed for coziness and retirement. A conscious effort is made to discourage traffic on those streets that have been dedicated to residential uses.

The rectangular arrangement of streets which prevails so universally in America is rarely followed. It is monotonous, offers no opportunity for commanding sites, and has been discarded by German town planners. The modification of the rectangular gridiron plan by the addition of radial avenues, of which Washington is such a conspicuous example, has been generally abandoned because of its inelasticity and coldness. Almost always the natural advantages and topography of the land are preserved irrespec-

tive of grades. The motive is to substitute irregularity for regularity; to give streets character and charm and adjust them to specific uses. Streets should have variety, these planners say. We see the effectiveness of the sweeping curved type of street on the Grand Canal in Venice, in Regent Street, London, and in High Street, Oxford. These streets have a charm of their own, because of the unexpected vistas which break constantly on the view. There are new pictures at every step.

Other street planners have gone back to the irregular mediæval type of street found in Nuremberg, Cologne, Rothenburg, and Frankfort. They have designed streets for the suburbs with as much irregularity as possible. Some come to a dead end, while others break off in sharp turnings. There is no uniform width or direction. The effort of this school of planners is to secure picturesqueness, coziness and a sense of retirement.

The main thoroughfares are planned on a different scale. They are commanding and spacious. They, too, are planned for a particular use, that of traffic thoroughfares. They range from 150 to 250 feet in width. In the centre is a parkway. On either side are street-railway tracks. A bridle-path is often provided, while on either side are roadways for vehicular traffic. These radial thoroughfares are designed to minimize distances, to reduce transportation costs. They are the trunk lines of the city.

Spacious Street Construction, Charlottenburg.

Type of Street Construction, Frankfort-on-the-Main.

Showing broad parking with ornamental fountains and new style of residential architecture.

The council determines the material to be used, whether it be wood blocks, stone, or asphalt. It decides on what streets front gardens are required, how far back houses must be located from the curb line, as well as the distance between houses. It also determines beforehand as to the class and character of buildings that may be erected in different localities. It dedicates some districts to factories, others to expensive villas, and still others to workingmen's homes.

Before work on any suburban development is undertaken the plans and building regulations are placed on exhibition and the public is invited to inspect them and make criticisms. After considering the suggestions the plans are finally approved by the local authorities, when they become the official building plans of the city. Property-owners have a right to appeal to the courts, but it rarely happens that the plan is rejected because of private objections. There was some protest at first from land-owners against this control, but time has demonstrated that such oversight by the city protects the land-owner and increases the value of his property rather than depreciates it. It protects him from the license of irresponsible neighbors and compels all persons to use their own in harmony with the whole. Owners generally transfer to the city such land as is needed for streets without compensation, while cities have a right to take from 30 to 40 per cent. of the property

for streets and open spaces without payment to the owner.

Such are the street plans and suburban-development projects of nearly all the growing cities.

The city also controls the site on which it is built much as it controls its streets. It does this: (1) through land-ownership, (2) through the regulation of private owners, and (3) in a sense through taxation. Officials realize that the land on which the city is located controls everything else. It controls the city's size and appearance. It controls the homes people live in. Official control of the city's site is the first essential to city building.

The German city is frequently the largest landowner in the community. From the earliest times German towns have owned forests and common lands which were used for pasturage, for the gathering of fuel, for forestry and agriculture. Much of this land has been retained, while in recent years great additions have been made to city holdings. It is stated by a German writer that "no less than 1,500 towns and villages in Germany still own, and have owned right down from the Middle Ages, so much common land that their inhabitants pay neither rates nor taxes." [1]

In 1902 an official report[2] on land-ownership by German cities stated that Posen owned 10 square

[1] *Westminster Review*, July, 1907.
[2] *Soziale Praxis*, December 5, 1902.

yards of land per capita; Barmen, 10.76; Dresden, 14.95; and Essen, 17.70. Of the thirty-one towns enumerated only seven had less than 23.94 square yards per capita. Nine of the towns had from 59.8 to 119.6 square yards, while five towns had from 119.6 to 239.2 square yards of land. Strassburg, which owns 364.78 square yards to every one of its inhabitants, is the largest of the municipal landowners.

And instead of selling the land, towns constantly add to their possessions. Between 1890 and 1902 the city of Cologne increased its holdings by 1,269 per cent. During the same period Chemnitz added 605 per cent.; Munich, 334 per cent.; Dresden, 290 per cent.; and Mannheim, 254 per cent. to their previous possessions. In ten years' time Berlin added 21.52 square yards of land per head of its population, notwithstanding its increase in size.

In this policy the government has given the cities every encouragement. Some years ago orders were issued by Prussia to administrative officials to use their influence to induce the towns to buy as much land as they could obtain and to retain existing holdings and all they should thereafter acquire.

Berlin owns land to the extent of 240.8 per cent. of its total area, including the area owned outside of its boundaries. Frankfort owns 48.9 per cent. of the land within its limits. Ulm owns 80 per cent.; Mannheim, 35.4 per cent.; and Hanover, 37.7 per

cent. of the land within its boundaries. The following table indicates the extent of land-ownership, both within and without the city, of a number of European cities, for the policy of municipal land-ownership is not confined to Germany:

	Total Area of City	Total Amount of Land Owned by City	Proportion of Total City Area	
	Acres	Acres	Within City Per Cent.	Without City Per Cent.
Berlin	15,689.54	39,151.28	9.2	240.8
Munich	21,290.24	13,597.02	23.7	37.8
Leipsic	14,095.25	8,406.84	32.3	27.4
Strassburg	19,345.45	11,866.98	33.2	281.1
Hanover	9,677.25	5,674.90	37.7	20.4
Schoeneberg	2,338.60	1,633.33	4.2	65.1
Spandau	10,470.37	4,480.79	3.05	42.9
Zurich	10,894.64	5,621.52	26.0	25.9

The motives underlying this policy of public land-ownership are officially stated by the city of Düsseldorf as follows:

"The city of Düsseldorf has recently acquired large tracts of land. The extension of the city and the unexpected appearance of many municipal problems, the very large extension of municipal undertakings, the practicability of various institutions, make it necessary for the municipality to become the owner of land in various sections of the city. The administration which meets the necessary needs of the hour and leaves the provision for the future to the coming generation may be justly accused of shortsightedness. Experience teaches that a plat of land is very

often much dearer at the time it is needed than some time previously.

"The city should not, however, acquire land only for its own immediate needs. It is entirely to be sanctioned, if the city participates in the rise of the prices of land through the establishment of municipal institutions that causes such rise in the price of land serving such institutions. The city should especially become the owner of land in the suburban sections and thus influence the development of the sections, the mode of building and creation of larger squares, and should influence also the opening of land for building purposes and thus keep down the prices of these plats.

"The increase in the value of municipal lands is, according to experience, on an average at least four per cent. annually, taking a long number of years as standard. Even though stagnation in the rise of prices does set in at times, still the interest at four per cent. will be found to have been realized and we may even figure upon four per cent. with compound interest. Whereas an investment at four per cent. doubles itself in seventeen years, we have found ground values to treble and quadruple themselves during the same time and in some cases multiply themselves more than that."[1]

Cities generally anticipate future needs by buying land for schools as well as for open spaces and other public uses before the territory has been opened up for sale. This protects the city from speculative prices and enables it to provide generously for school sites and recreation in the suburbs, where play-

[1] For further information as to the land policy of Düsseldorf, see chapter III.

grounds and gardens of the greatest variety are to be found.

A similar policy is often adopted as a means of financing docks, harbors, and industrial sections. Frankfort, whose harbor project is described elsewhere, acquired 1,180 acres of land at agricultural prices before the project was undertaken, and expects to pay the greater part, if not the entire cost, amounting to nearly $18,000,000, out of the increase in land values which the undertaking itself creates. The policy and profits of Ulm in a suburban-development plan are described elsewhere.

Cities also determine the uses to which land can be put by the owners. Factories are required to locate upon the railway or harbor and on the side of the city away from the prevailing winds. Thus the smoke and dirt are blown away from the city rather than across it. Terminals and railway connections are built with switches, sidings, and spurs which are linked up with the canals and water-ways to insure the economical handling of freight. This is one way by which Germany controls monopoly. It makes it easy for new concerns to enter the field. It supplies them with cheap sites advantageously located, and gives them every facility for cheap transportation. The territory near the factory district is dedicated to workingmen's homes, where the streets are planned with this object in view. In the neighborhood parks, playgrounds, and public baths are usually provided.

This control of the land does not depreciate its value. Rather it increases it. It protects the residence area from alien interests and insures its natural rather than its forced use. This is now so generally recognized that real-estate owners co-operate with officials in planning projects.

Cities still further control the growth of the city by what is known as the zone system. The council divides the city into districts in which the building regulations are fixed in advance of local development. These building ordinances prescribe: (1) The amount of land that may be covered by buildings; (2) the height of the structures that may be erected; (3) the distance they must be located back from the street, and (4) the space which must be left between buildings. These districts are like the fire zones of our cities; they insure proper sanitation, light, and air, and prevent the reappearance of the crowded tenement and slum. In the suburban plans of Ulm the new area opened up for building was divided as follows: 17 per cent. was dedicated to streets, 20 per cent. only was allowed to be covered by buildings, 13 per cent. was reserved for back gardens, and 50 per cent. for front gardens. Mannheim is divided into three building zones. In the first zone, or business district, 60 per cent. of the land may be covered by structures, which must not exceed five stories in height. In the next outer zone 50 per cent. of the lot area may be built upon, while the structures may

not exceed four stories in height. In the outlying sections three stories is the limit, while a smaller percentage of the land may be built upon.

In the business district of Frankfort 75 per cent. of the land may be covered by buildings, which may not exceed five stories, or more than 65 feet, in height. In the second outer zone buildings may be four stories high, but never higher than the width of the street. In the third suburban zone two stories is the limit.

The building ordinances of Cologne provide that 25 per cent. of the land must be left free in the business section, 35 per cent. in the next two outer zones, while in the suburban residence section only 50 per cent. may be built upon. In Berlin the height of buildings in front is limited to the width of the street, with a maximum of 70 feet. The height may be increased to 72 feet if the structure is set back from the building line. In Paris buildings are limited to the width of the street.

Architectural harmony is insured by these restrictions. There is a uniform sky-line as well as a uniform house-frontage. There are no dark canyons into which the sun rarely enters; there is no hideous incongruity of architecture. Nor are there any tax-earners built by speculators. The German city insists that the community has a right to be protected from ugliness just as from any other nuisance.

Public buildings are harmoniously grouped about

a commanding centre. Bridges have fine approaches, while the river and canal banks are laid out as parks and promenade places. Clock-towers, statues, and public gardens are scattered through the city. Along the street railway lines are artistic waiting-rooms. Public street signs are carefully designed, as are the electric-lighting poles. Service wires are placed in conduits underground as a matter of course. In some cities the trolley spans are hung by rosettes from the sides of the buildings. Business signs rarely overhang the street and are minimized or prohibited altogether, while billboard announcements are limited to circular kiosks located in prominent places.

Almost every large city has a park close by the business district. There are Hofgartens, city centres, and market-places which are utilized for recreation and rest. In all public work beauty is treated as incidental to the useful. It is taken as a matter of course that public and private work shall not be ugly.

Cities have jealously preserved the old parts of the town in their rebuilding projects. Frankfort protected its old crooked streets and mediæval buildings with reverence. The old gates of Munich, Bremen, and Düsseldorf have been kept in their original setting and have been harmoniously framed with other structures. In Nuremberg and Munich the suburban housing projects have been designed to repro-

duce the old types of houses with overhanging upper stories.

Each city, too, has one or more great city centres about which public buildings are grouped. Buildings are located across the end of a fine street so as to secure the most effective vistas. In Berlin there is the Lustgarten with the palaces, opera-houses, cathedrals, and museums. The new Reichstag building is in the centre of another commanding group. The Zwinger and surrounding palaces and art gallery of Dresden form one of the most splendid centres in Europe. Munich has half a dozen civic centres, while Mannheim, Frankfort, and Düsseldorf locate their public structures with an eye to their greatest effectiveness and service.

Opera-houses and theatres are located in the same way as part of a comprehensive official plan. They are maintained or subsidized by the city, as necessary parts of a well-ordered municipal life. They are designed by great architects and have the same place in the affections of the community as the cathedrals or royal palaces of earlier days. Generous provision is made for open spaces, for parks, gardens, and playgrounds. In the newer sections such open places are found within easy walking distance of almost every home. These gardens and open spaces are very varied. Some are round, others are square. Still others are sunken. Often these small parks are on one side of the street rather than in its centre, so

as not to obstruct the traffic. The imagination of the artist has been allowed free play in the designing of these neighborhood parks.

Almost every bit of water is jealously preserved and developed by the city, whether it be an old moat, an inland lake, a little stream or a canal, river or ocean front. Water-frontage is deemed a priceless possession, and it has proven so to many cities. The Alster, a fresh-water lake in the heart of Hamburg, is the centre of the city's life. About it the business as well as the pleasure of the city moves. The cities of Bremen and Düsseldorf have parked the moats which surrounded the old towns. They are features of the city's beauty. The river banks are developed as promenades and parkways as well as the site for public buildings and cafés.

The water approaches of the American city are its most neglected parts. They are given over to railway tracks, warehouses, and factories, with no attempt to preserve their beauty or insure their fullest use by the community.

Many of the German cities received valuable heritages from the past in the sites of the fortifications which surrounded the old towns. In Cologne, Frankfort, Ulm, and Bremen these fortifications were acquired from the nation and converted into ringstrassen which encircle the city and separate the old from the new. Cologne has two such boulevards, indicating various periods of the city's fortifications.

These ringstrassen are laid out with elaborate care and are the most commanding streets in the world. Upon the ringstrassen public buildings, opera-houses, and private residences have been erected. Along these parkways are gardens, statuary, and opportunity for recreation.

But city planning is a larger programme than streets, parks, or playgrounds. It is far more than the city beautiful. City planning is more properly city building. It involves the planning of water and steam and street transportation so as to reduce the cost of transit and loss of time to a minimum. It means building terminals to facilitate trade and industry. Street railways, gas, electric light, and water are treated as the cities' vital organs to be owned and operated for service, comfort, and convenience. They are owned by the city because they control its life, its growth, its development.

When a city undertakes a harbor project, the railway administration co-operates with it. There is no conflict between the city and the railway over streets, stations, or terminals. The railway is not an eyesore, a source of annoyance, dirt, and smoke. It is part of the city plan. Terminals, tracks, and stations are built into the city just as are the streets. Stations are located at convenient places, and sidings are built where needed. Every possible facility is afforded to make the means of transportation serve.

Harbors are planned as integral parts of the com-

ELEVATED RAILWAY STATION, BERLIN.

Showing artistic construction of station and supporting columns.

DÜSSELDORF RIVER EMBANKMENT.

Showing use of river for pleasure and business; also the ornamental development of promenade-way and river boulevard. Railway tracks and landing-stage for boats below.

munity and of the industrial machinery of the empire. All along the Rhine River, on the North Sea and the Baltic, natural harbors have been developed by the cities or artificial ones created. Even inland cities like Berlin and Dresden utilize the streams for carrying on a tremendous traffic, while canals have been constructed to open up almost every section of the empire. Germany's industrial eminence is largely due to the scientific planning of rail and water transportation and the intelligent building of cities, so that each will realize its highest industrial possibilities. All are part of a great industrial organism as consciously developed as is the military and naval programme of the empire.

Thought in America is obsessed with the idea that the laws of commerce are like the laws of nature. We assume that these laws cannot be controlled or aided by man. We have left transportation to private control. With the exception of New York, Baltimore, New Orleans, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, few seaboard cities have made any effort to develop their water-frontage, while upon the Great Lakes the harbors of Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, Duluth, and almost all the smaller towns are the possession of the railways or private owners. Tens of millions of dollars have been spent by the government in the building of breakwaters, canalways, locks, and other improvements, which have enriched the riparian owners but done little to convert

this great highway of commerce into a public waterway. Rather the reverse is true. In recent years, independent shipping has diminished on the Great Lakes because of the inadequate harbor facilities. It would at least be reasonable to insist that, before any appropriation is made by the Federal Government for such purposes, the cities or the States should first make adequate provision for public harbors in order that the benefits of the improvement should accrue to the community.

Nor have we utilized our water-fronts, as do European countries, for beauty and recreation. They should be the centre of the city's recreational life. Yet nowhere, with the exception of Boston, have cities consciously developed their water-front for these purposes. The Charles River basin, which lies between Boston and Cambridge, is almost the only example we have of intelligent, far-sighted city planning of inland waters. A score of cities have greater advantages than any of the Rhine towns, while the Atlantic and Pacific harbors are susceptible of being made the most beautiful in the world.

City planning is a radical departure from the *laissez faire* philosophy which dominates politics, industry, and thought, in this country. It is a recognition of the fact that individualism has broken down in housing, in transportation, in the supply of many services that lie at the heart of our daily life. The German city realizes that the community must pro-

tect its health, its water supply, its food, its children, its workers. City planning extends the community idea still further. It protests against ugliness, against discomfort, against dirt and disease. It protects the community purse against the costs of vice, crime, and infection, from the tenement and the slum, from the denial of light, sunshine, and air. It treats transit as part of the housing question; transportation as an adjunct to industry and commerce; the water-front as a means of communication and pleasure. City planning means all these things and more. It means the control of property in the interests of humanity. It means planning cities for people to live in as well as to work in. It means building a community as an agency of civilization, culture, and art.

In America we have exalted the rights of property above the rights of the community. Courts, councils, and mayors reflect this motive. So do the legislatures. We may not regulate the height of bill-boards, suppress smoke, limit the height of buildings, or plan suburban land without encountering an injunction from the courts allowed on the ground that the city is taking property without compensation or without due process of law. The city has lost its sovereignty; it has become subordinate to a thousand property rights, each of which sacrifices the whole to its individual selfish desires. And we cannot have a city, we cannot build for comfort, convenience, joy, until

public opinion assumes and the legislature and the courts accept the assumption that the claims of all people, of all property, of all business, are superior to the rights and claims of any individual property, business, or special privilege.

CHAPTER VI

CITIES FOR PEOPLE

EVERYWHERE in Europe the city does a great many things which we leave in private hands or neglect to provide altogether. The services performed are constantly being widened to reduce the costs of industry, of poverty, of disease. There is no prejudice against municipal ownership, scarcely any protest against the city entering on new activities of any kind. That distrust of public enterprise so universal in this country and England has never existed on the Continent, where the proper limits of public activity have always been a matter of expediency rather than of principle.[1] Nor is there any hard and fast line between those natural monopolies, which many people in this country admit should be in public hands, and industries of a competitive, non-monopolistic character. The question is one of expediency, of what will be best for the community.

[1] The official attitude of German cities is conservatively indicated by the following utterance of Doctor Adickes, Burgomaster of Frankfort:

"As to the matter of the proper provinces of public and private undertakings, we have already mentioned that there has never existed among us that predominance of private corporations in the fields of the necessities of life which is the case in London and other English cities, in France and in Belgium; that, on the contrary, undertakings of monopolistic character as well as others concerning the welfare of all the citizens have from the beginning been in the control

This is more true of Germany than of any European country. And to our point of view the German city is very socialistic. So is the state. So, too, are the Austrian and to some extent the Italian cities.

All this is the more remarkable because the German city is governed by business men. They constitute a majority of the council; they select the burgomaster and the magistrat. And the business men who rule the German cities are not the small tradesmen or shopkeepers as in Great Britain. They are rather the men of large affairs, the bankers, manufacturers, wholesale and retail dealers. They, with the professional classes, rule the city. It is from this class that the council is recruited. And they have taken the most profitable businesses away from other business men because it was good business for the city to do so.

The following figures of the fifty largest cities in Great Britain and Germany show the extent to which ownership has been carried in the two countries. The figures for English cities are taken from *The*

of the cities. It is well known that the process of municipalizing is steadily advancing, and the only problem is to go about it cautiously and consistently so far as the financial and other conditions of the individual cities allow. After the unfortunate results that often followed efforts to regulate by agreement conditions of traffic, and which had to be endured a long time, everyone is convinced that municipal ownership and operation of street railways best serves public interests, particularly in the matter of city expansion and housing regulation."—(*Die Sozialen Aufgaben der Deutschen Staedte*, p. 28.)

Municipal Year Book of Great Britain for 1909, and of German cities from *The Kommunales Jahrbuch of* 1908:

In Great Britain	Own Their Own	In Germany
39	Water supply	48
21	Gas supply	50
44	Electricity supply	42
42	Tramways	23
49	Baths	48
44	Markets	50
23	Slaughter-houses	43

The attitude of the German business man is indicated by the comment of an official of Berlin, made to a group of Americans who were being entertained by the city in the summer of 1911. He said:

"I have frequently heard American business men say that what they want is a business men's government such as we have in Germany. Yet your business men approve of giving away all of the profitable businesses in the city and of keeping those which are unprofitable. You keep your sewers, which lose money, and give away your street railways, which make money. You own your streets and parks, which are unprofitable, but not your gas and electric lighting works, which are profitable. New York City took over the ferries when they began to lose money to the private operators, but later gave away the subways, which make money. We think that is bad business in Germany. We should say that was not a business-like administration. We keep the

profitable along with the unprofitable businesses. I fancy your business men would go bankrupt if they conducted their private business as they do their cities. Yet I have never heard an American business man protest against this unbusiness-like policy."

This attitude of mind is held by all classes. There is an intelligent discrimination between those things which should be public and those which should be private. Officials and citizens appreciate that many things must be done by the state to insure industrial freedom; that even free competition is out of the question when a privileged few control the highways, the resources, the raw materials of production, as well as such local undertakings as the public-service corporations, docks, slaughter-houses, and markets.

Coupled with this business point of view is another motive which in recent years has come to inspire the activities of burgomasters and councillors; a motive expressed by Doctor Albert Südekum, of Berlin, one of the most distinguished municipal experts in Germany, a member of the Reichstag, and the editor of the *Kommunales Jahrbuch*. Speaking to the American group referred to above, he said:

"City administration in Germany is becoming the science of community living. We are not content alone with the idea of efficiency, of honesty, of running our cities as a business man runs his business.

We have grown beyond that idea. The city is far more than a business affair. It is much more than a political agency. It is an agency of social welfare with unexhausted possibilities. Our cities are trying to utilize art and science, the improvements of steam and electricity, in the service of the people. We are aiming to socialize industry and knowledge for the common good. This is the new motive of municipal administration. We have learned by experience that this can only be done when the community itself controls property for the welfare of the people."

Cities do a surprisingly large number of things. Hamburg insures all property against fire, insurance being compulsory. Premiums are paid along with the local taxes. The city maintains a fire department and is responsible for the protection of property: why should it not enjoy the benefits of its own expenditure and at the same time eliminate the waste of solicitors, of competition, and perform this necessary social service for the protection of everybody at cost?

During the winter of 1911 investigations in New York disclosed the fact that public bakeries were located in cellars, under sidewalks, in the most unsanitary places possible. Bread was being baked in the midst of dirt, filth, and close by dripping sewage. The conditions discovered were almost unprintable. In Buda-Pest it was found that the private bakeries had combined to reduce the weight of the loaf of bread and increase its price. To meet this situa-

tion the city erected a public bakery and prepared to supply the entire city. Immediately the price of bread and the size of the loaf came to the standard and the price fixed by the municipal bakery.

Nothing contributes so much to the low cost of living in Germany as the universal use of the parcels post. It is operated in connection with the state-owned railways, and is used by business men, farmers, and the people generally, and is of the greatest conceivable convenience and economy. Almost anything can be mailed, and at a very low cost. The consul-general of the United States in Hamburg says of the parcels post: "If it should be proposed in Germany to abolish the parcels post (a most unthinkable proposition) loud complaint would no doubt be heard from the people of the small towns and the farming population," for the parcels post makes it possible for the farmer to visit the city once a year, where he solicits customers whom he supplies directly from the farm just as regularly as from the retail shop of the immediate neighborhood.

In Great Britain the same is true. The American consul at Cork says of the parcels post:

"Farmers, merchants, and manufacturers patronize extensively this means of communication between the markets and the isolated individual consumer. For instance, the farmer at Queenstown can order a pound of tea in London and have it delivered at Queenstown for six cents. So the merchant in

London can order a pound of butter of the farmer at Queenstown and have it delivered at his residence by parcels post for the same price. People throughout the rural districts generally avail themselves of this express system to get their produce, such as that of farm and market garden, to market. Also dealers in fruit, game, fish, eggs, butter, meat, and such commodities generally use this means of speedily reaching their customers or the market."

The *hausfrau* in Germany receives her fresh vegetables, her poultry, butter, and flowers along with her mail in the early morning delivery. They come fresh to her table from the country, and have been posted a few hours earlier possibly a hundred miles away in a country village. Farmers come to the city three or four times a year to solicit customers. A postal-card changes the standing order. All Germany offers itself as a market for the cities without the intervention of warehousemen, wholesale or retail dealers, or cold-storage plants. There is no possibility of combination or monopoly. There is no waste in handling by half a dozen agents. Producer and consumer meet directly through the parcels post as though they were bartering at the city markets.

Germany protects the consumer and producer alike. The middle-men are eliminated, and the profits and waste which they entail.

The slaughter-house is also a public rather than a private institution. Of the fifty largest towns in Germany forty-three own their abattoirs and require

that all meat sold in the city shall be slaughtered in them. In almost all of the other countries of Europe, as well as in South America, Egypt, even in the Far East, the private slaughter-house has been closed.

Paris has had public abattoirs since the time of the first Napoleon, who compelled the French cities to close the private houses and erect public ones. In Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Austria, Hungary, Russia, and Scandinavia slaughtering has been in public hands for years.

Public slaughtering is required as a sanitary measure, for the purpose of stamping out the diseases prevalent in cattle. Only by public inspection can the food supply be protected. These were the original reasons for the public abattoir. In addition, they protect the public from extortion. The food supply of the people is too important to be left in private hands, interested only in pecuniary profits. Germany realizes that food monopoly has a direct bearing on poverty and industrial efficiency. So the cities cut out monopoly as far as possible at the root. There is only the butcher between the farmer and the housewife, and he must compete with another butcher around the corner as well as with the municipal market to be found in almost every city.

Slaughtering in Germany is covered by an imperial law and code of rules for inspection and slaughtering which went into effect in 1903. The newer abattoirs are models of completeness and are de-

signed by architects with a spaciousness and beauty in keeping with the German idea of public building. They are usually of brick or cement and are so located as to be easily accessible to the railways and water-ways, and are united with a cattle market where the butchers come several days a week to make their purchases. The abattoirs are usually in the suburbs, although this is not necessary, for science and hygiene have made such progress that the abattoir is no longer a nuisance. The slaughtering is done in the most humane way possible, under the careful supervision of experts trained for the purpose, while the veterinarians who inspect the cattle are required to be graduates of the Ober-Real Gymnasium, followed by a four years' course of study. Inspectors are also required to pass an examination. The public abattoirs are self-sustaining, but charges are fixed at the point which will pay operating expenses and interest on the money invested. They are not operated as a means of profit.

Dresden, a city of 540,000 inhabitants, finished an immense cattle market and abattoir in 1910 at a cost of $4,260,000. It is the largest and most completely equipped slaughter-house in Germany. It covers 90 acres of land and includes 68 buildings. It is located on the River Elbe, and is connected with spurs of the railways. The groups of buildings are designed as a unit and form a suburban community in themselves. The material is cement with

roadways between them of the same material, all so arranged as to be easily cleaned by flushing machines. The most fastidious woman could visit the abattoir, and, as a matter of fact, visitors are encouraged to come as a means of insuring cleanliness. The gates through which one enters are like those of a public park. Everything bears the mark of the architect and the artist in the designing. On the right as one enters is the residence of the director. On the left is a spacious hotel with a restaurant and the post-office. The restaurant is finished with artistic wood-work and frescoed ceilings.

Six thousand head of cattle had been killed the day before I was there. Yet the place had the appearance of "Spotless Town." To the market in connection with the abattoir all the cattle, sheep, and hogs for the city's use must be brought. Here they are inspected for tuberculosis and other diseases.

In the slaughter-houses of Berlin 657 persons are employed, including one director, 47 veterinary surgeons, 15 assistant veterinary surgeons, 121 male microscopists, and 120 female microscopists. There are two great establishments, one on each side of the city, transacting a business which was formerly done in nearly 1,000 private slaughter-houses. The original cost of the slaughter-house was approximately $5,000,000. The service is performed more cheaply than under the old system, while consumers are protected in every possible way. The total value

of the cattle and other animals slaughtered in 1905 amounted to $55,000,000.

In Italy, every town of more than 6,000 inhabitants is required to build and maintain its own slaughter-house to which all cattle must be brought. The slaughtering is done by individual butchers. The city provides the building, keeps it clean, and furnishes veterinary inspectors to conduct the examinations. Even in Russia the laws require that all animals for food purposes must be slaughtered at the city abattoir. These laws have been in force for a quarter of a century.

The public market is universal in Europe and has been for centuries. It, too, curtails the cost of living. The market-place was the centre about which the mediæval town was organized. It was close by the city hall, which even to-day, in many cities, fronts upon it. The market-places of Brussels, Frankfort, Bremen, and many other cities form a kind of civic centre. They are surrounded by the old guild halls, which are still preserved in their original style of architecture. Here markets are held in the open under awnings or umbrellas, which are cleared away in the middle of the day.

Almost all of the European cities have erected spacious retail market buildings, so distributed as to serve every section of the city. There are also numerous other markets in the streets and open spaces which are used in the morning hours. In Vienna

there are seven enclosed market buildings and forty open-air market-places. The articles sold are provisions and agricultural products as well as other commodities of general use. The city authorities determine the distribution of market-places among dealers, and what wares may be sold. Locations are assigned according to priority of application. Careful supervision is maintained to prevent misleading or fraudulent statements relative to the contents of packages, while any wares exhibited of an unsanitary character are confiscated and destroyed. A high standard of cleanliness is maintained. As the railroads are in public hands, they are so operated as to facilitate the widest possible usefulness of the market. The fees are fixed according to business and location. The total receipts of all the Vienna markets in 1906 were $382,508, and the expenditures $321,412.

The city of Antwerp maintains nineteen open squares and places where markets are held, and two covered markets. One can find almost anything in the Belgian market, from vegetables, meat, and fish, to second-hand books, old clothes, furniture, and other household goods. All contracts for the use of market space are supervised by the municipality to protect the consumer from extortion. The markets of Brussels are very elaborate. They are built of steel, and are light and well ventilated. In addition, there are a large number of open-air markets.

The market system of the city of Paris is one of the most extensive and best-administered institutions of its kind in Europe. The central or wholesale market is a large establishment located near the Louvre, and known as the *Halles Centrales*. It consists of ten pavilions and open structures, partly covered by a roof, the entire market occupying twenty-two acres of land. The total cost of the central market and the ground was about $10,000,000. Produce is brought to the central market by railroad, by boats, and by vans; it is classified, inspected, and then sold by auction or by bargain and sale to retailers and consumers in the city. The central market is almost exclusively a wholesale market. Distributed throughout the city are thirty-three smaller retail markets which are supplied through the central market or by direct communication with the farmers.

Underneath the markets proper are great cellars in which produce can be temporarily stored. This is a kind of cold-storage warehouse under public administration. There is careful oversight to prevent unwholesome foods being sold and to check combination or extortion among dealers. The total revenue from the system of central and local markets in 1906 was $1,817,164, and the total expenses $318,923, leaving a profit of $1,498,241.

The permanent markets of Berlin are of recent construction, the first market hall having been built

in 1886. There are now 14 city markets in substantial buildings, and so located as most easily to distribute the incoming farm produce of the railways, river, and canal-ways to the retail dealers and consumers of the city. The markets are used for the sale of food of all kinds, of household necessities, as well as the cheaper kinds of cloth, crockery, and every kind of farm produce. There is an immense central market as a distributing agency for the smaller markets in which produce is sold in bulk by auction or otherwise.[1]

[1] An exhaustive study of municipal markets and slaughter-houses in Europe has been made by the Department of Commerce and Labor of Washington, and is found in *Special Consular Reports*, vol. XLII.

CHAPTER VII

PROTECTING THE WORKER

GERMANY is free from the individualistic point of view that characterizes America, an individualism which resents any interference with the right of the strong to exploit the weak. There is little of that indifference to the vicarious costs of industry, to the sickness, accidents, and human wreckage which follow in the trail of our failure to protect the weaker classes. This attitude of mind is indicated in the opening paragraph of a report issued by the Chamber of Commerce of Frankfort-on-the-Main, which says:

"The 'Manchester School' has had its day, and since it had full sway, a great change has come over the civilized nations, marked by an increased influence of the governments at the expense of individualism.

"Slowly at first, but then in ever increasing measure, mankind realized that the doctrine of 'laisser faire,' 'laisser passer' was a vicious one, and that the Darwinian tenet of the survival of the fittest should not apply to human beings. True enough, this knowledge did not emerge from purely altruistic motives, but was a result of the conviction that the road with the finger-post inscriptions, 'Elbow-room for

everybody,' and 'Everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost' was a short one leading nowhere.

"It had become obvious to leaders of men, like Bismarck and Gladstone, that the new methods of modern machinery and large capital had created forms of employment unknown before, that huge urban agglomerations had been called into existence, and that the national agriculture of Old World countries like France, England and Germany was being exposed to a great strain by the competition of the virgin soils of new lands.

"Furthermore, the new conditions in industry, commerce, and agriculture had brought about a change in the personal relations between employer and employed; the formerly patriarchal relations became impersonal in proportion as the numbers of workmen and other employees increased. Great portions of the population saw themselves helpless and shelterless in case of death, disaster and disease. Germany was the first state to recognize the threatening danger, and, in order to minimize it, adopted the system of compulsory insurance. Prince Bismarck and his imperial master, William I, were the prime movers in this great legislative work, but I think it is only just to mention that certain elementary forms of taking care of those in distress existed before, and not only in Germany."

A similar attitude animates officials in their efforts to promote the well-being of the working-classes. Cities have worked out a programme of human conservation based on a realization of the helplessness of the individual under modern industrial conditions. The worker is no longer able to protect himself, to

choose his own employment, to be a free agent, as he was a hundred years ago. He has become an insignificant factor in a social machine which ruthlessly crushes those who serve it in the cruel, competitive life which the industrial city has created. Germany has officially recognized these facts, and some years ago the Minister of the Interior, speaking in the Reichstag, outlined the policy of Germany as well as of her cities in these matters. He said: "If Germany has experienced a vast industrial expansion equalled by no other country in the world during the same time, it is chiefly due to the efficiency of its workers. But this efficiency must inevitably have suffered had we not secured to our working-classes by the social legislation of recent years a tolerable standard of life, and had we not as far as was possible guaranteed their physical health."

The workman is trained to be a good mechanic, he is insured against accident, sickness, and old age; he is protected from the careless employer, and is watched over in a variety of ways. When hard times or industrial depression throw him out of work, employment is provided for him. When seeking employment in other cities, a lodging is offered to prevent his passing into the vagrant class. When sick, he is cared for in wonderful convalescent homes, tuberculosis hospitals, and farm colonies. And when old age removes him from the factory, a pension awaits him as a slight mark of appreciation from so-

ciety, which has taken in his labor all that his life had to offer and has given him only a bare subsistence wage in return.

It is estimated that 30,000 men are killed each year in America in industrial employments, while 500,000 more are seriously injured. Up to very recently we have made but little effort to shield the worker from these dangers. We compel him and his dependent family to bear the burdens of his accident. He has the choice between a beggarly settlement from his employer or an exhausting and costly litigation with the possibility of defeat in the end.

Germany thinks human life is too valuable to be destroyed in this way. And Germany throws the cost of human accidents onto society itself, just as it does the wear and tear or depreciation of machinery. The worker and his dependents are given compensation for injuries without the delays, uncertainties, and costs of a court trial. Compensation is paid as a matter of course on a fixed scale established by law.

Insurance is compulsory against accident, sickness, invalidity, and old age. In 1909, out of a population of 63,879,000, about 13,385,000 persons, of whom 10,000,000 were males, were insured in this way against sickness by 23,449 sick funds. The number insured against accident was about 23,767,000, of whom one-third were women. Invalidity insurance covered about 15,444,000 persons. The income col-

lected for all these forms of insurance amounted to $214,856,650, of which the employers contributed $98,312,000, and the employees $81,414,000. The states and the interest earnings added $35,194,945 more. The cost of the invalidity and old-age insurance is shared by the wage-earner, the employer, and the state, while insurance against accident is borne by the employer. The disbursements of the various funds amounted to $167,592,770, of which the sickness insurance amounted to $82,762,450, the accident insurance to $39,461,155, and the invalidity insurance to $45,369,165. In addition to the above nearly $50,000,000 is to be added for the insurance of public servants and $50,000,000 more for private servants.

Insurance against sickness has been provided since 1884. It is provided for almost all industrial workers whose wages are below $500 a year. The sick insurance funds are of several kinds: some provided by the community for all the trades within their limits, some by the large industries which maintain funds of their own. All of the insurance funds provide for free medical attendance and supplies, as well as for sick pay from the third day of illness.

The insurance amounts to about one-half the daily wages received by the insured or of the amount upon which his assessment is fixed. Sick benefits continue for not more than twenty-six weeks, after which time, if the illness continues, the burden is transferred to the accident insurance fund. The administration of

these funds is partly in the hands of the working people themselves through a board chosen by the employers and the employees. The accident insurance fund covers substantially the same classes as does the sickness insurance, and the method of administration is substantially the same.

Every employer is bound to provide insurance against accident. Upon opening a factory he becomes a member of a trade association which covers his business, and is bound to contribute to the insurance fund. The fund is managed by an executive board, which has power to classify trades and fix the schedule of premiums for risks. The board has power to enforce rules and compel the introduction of appliances for protection against accident, and if a member refuses to make the changes ordered, he may be fined for neglect or his insurance premiums increased.

The benefits to be paid for accident are not left to tedious and costly judicial inquiry. There is no expense or delay. Even though the employee is negligent he is entitled to compensation, unless there is evidence that he intentionally brought the accident on himself.

Insignificant contributions from these millions of insured have created immense reserves like those of the private insurance companies in America. But while the insurance premiums in this country have been used to promote monopoly, to add mine to

mine and railroad to railroad, and through monopoly to levy tribute upon the people, the insurance reserves in Germany are used to promote human welfare, to house the people, to improve their health, to save human waste. Millions have been loaned to individual workmen, co-operative societies, and municipalities for the building of workmen's houses, suburban colonies, and apartments, as described elsewhere. Millions more are used in the war against disease. Every large city of 250,000 inhabitants has wonderful hospitals, convalescent homes, and sanatoriums, which have been built largely by the aid of the insurance funds to minimize insurance losses by preventing disease. The hospitals in Germany are almost all public, and the last ten years have witnessed the erection of probably the finest institutions for the care of the sick and injured in the world.

It was found that tuberculosis was responsible for 15 per cent. of the insurance allowances to males, and this led to the organization of a systematic war against it. A chain of sanatoriums was established in the important cities, of which in 1911 there were 99. In 1897 there were only 3,334 wage-earners provided for by institutional treatment; in 1909 this number had grown to 42,232. In twelve years' time 272,000 patients had been treated and cared for in these institutions. The expenditure for this purpose shows an equally rapid increase. In 1897

it was $243,833, while in 1909 it had risen to $3,880,261.

As a result of this campaign the death-rate from tuberculosis has fallen from 23.08 per 10,000 during the four years from 1895 to 1899, to 18.45 per 10,000 during the period from 1905 to 1909.[1]

Berlin has recently erected the Virchow Hospital in the outskirts of the city, which is the most complete hospital I have ever visited. At Buch, an old people's home has been built on the detached cottage style, which is a generation in advance of the almshouses in this country. An open-air farm colony for inebriates is connected with it. The buildings are of great architectural beauty; they are surrounded by parkage, and have every modern appliance for the study and prevention of disease. Reference has been made to the hygienic exposition held in Dresden in 1911 which contained exhibits from all over Germany, showing the hospitals, sanatoriums, and

[1] "The marvellous results achieved in the German Empire through the intelligent coordination of public and private agencies enlisted in the effort to reduce the mortality from tuberculosis to a minimum entitles the German experiment, as the first and most successful of its kind, to the admiration of the entire civilized world. Whether what has been done has paid for itself in a strict financial sense is wholly secondary to the social results which have been achieved, and which have unquestionably conferred an infinite amount of good upon the German people engaged in German industry in successful competition with the economically more advantageously situated wage-earners of many other lands. From the social, economic, and medical points of view the treatment and care of tuberculous wage-earners in Germany is a subject well deserving of intelligent and sympathetic study as a distinct contribution to the civilization of the present time."—(*Care of Tuberculous Wage-Earners in Germany*, Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, Washington, 1912.)

other institutions for the care of sick and dependent classes.

At Beelitz, some miles out of Berlin, a tuberculosis sanitarium has been built which contains beds for 2,000 patients. It is located in a great pine forest of several hundred acres in extent and suggests a garden colony rather than a hospital. This hospital was built and is maintained out of the national insurance funds. In 1906 the expenses were about $349,000 for the care of more than 4,000 patients who received treatment.

Provision is also made to protect the man out of work. Scattered all over the empire, in every city of any size, are labor registries or exchanges, maintained partly by public and partly by private agencies. There are upward of 400 of such bureaus in the empire. Each year they find places for approximately 1,000,000 men and women in all kinds of employments. These labor exchanges aim to minimize the waste involved in unemployment. They are great clearing-houses for capital and labor. When the labor market is congested in one place, the exchange distributes labor to some other section where it is needed. An attempt is being made to utilize these agencies for satisfying the periodic demand for men upon the farms during the harvesting season.

I visited the exchange in Berlin, the largest in the empire. It secures positions for approximately

120,000 persons each year. It has been in existence for twenty-five years, and is maintained at a cost of $25,000 a year, of which the city pays $10,000, and the fees the balance. It occupies a large four-story building in the heart of Berlin. There is a separate entrance for women on one street and for men on the other. In the centre of the building is a great hall capable of seating 1,400 persons, while smaller halls accommodate the skilled artisans and women in another part of the building. There were probably 600 men waiting to be called when I was there. They did not suggest vagrants or tramps. They were clean, self-respecting, and robust. The men sat in groups according to their employment. When a request was received over the telephone or by mail, the men were called to the desk in the order of their registry, and the position explained to them. Priority is given to the married men in the assignments.

On one side of the great hall is a buffet where beer and food are sold at a trifling sum. There are tailors and cobblers connected with the registry, who repair clothes and shoes at an insignificant charge. Checkers, dominos, and chess are played by the men while they wait in the hall. The exchange suggests a huge workingman's club rather than an employment agency such as those of New York or Chicago. There are shower-baths in the building which are generally used, while a free dis-

pensary and medical inspection bureau are also offered.

Many cities also maintain a unique institution to enable workmen to find apartments at the least possible loss of time. House-owners report to the agency, which investigates the premises as to its character and cleanliness, and from descriptive cards the workman can select with little loss of time a place adjusted to his purse and his needs. In some cities this plan has found so much favor that renting by advertisement in the newspapers has been practically abandoned. The house registry is a great boon to the workman, employed as he is all day at his job, and frequently compelled to accept the first apartment that offers, no matter how badly located it may be.

Germany also makes provision for the wandering worker, for the artisan out of employment seeking a job. There is no assumption that a man out of employment is a suspicious character, a semi-criminal to be arrested because he has no visible means of support. He is not placed under arrest because of his poverty, as is the practice in many of our cities. Rather the community recognizes that men are compelled by necessity to change their employment. So the cities and private agencies maintain lodging-houses or herbergen. In 1904 there were 462 of these lodging-houses in Germany, which contained 20,000 beds. They lodge over 2,000,000 persons a year, of whom the majority are paying guests.

In order to secure admission to the herbergen the worker must produce a passport showing that he has been at work. For the sum of twelve cents he receives lodging and breakfast, or he can work for four hours for them. The rule of the herbergen is, "morning work, afternoon walk." The work is usually of a simple kind, such as chopping wood. These institutions have been so widely developed in south Germany that vagrancy has almost disappeared.

In connection with the herbergen, branches of municipal savings-banks are frequently maintained, while labor exchanges are in close contact with them. Through the herbergen and the labor exchange the self-respect of the worker is kept alive. He is prevented from falling into the tramp and vagrant class, and is found employment as speedily as possible in the job for which he is best fitted.

None of these agencies, however, are able to cope with industrial or seasonal trade depressions. They cannot create employment and do not attempt to do so. Many cities recognize that the worker has a right to be protected from hard times and saved from the demoralizing influence of non-employment. "Distress work" is quite generally provided by cities during the winter as well as during hard times. Cities do not recognize the "right to work," but they provide work in considerable measure, nevertheless. Contractors are also required to employ local men, so as to relieve local expenditure for charity. The

distress work is not of the best; but cities recognize that it is far less expensive than to permit the worker to develop the habit of shiftlessness and fall into the wreckage of vagabonds, tramps, and semi-criminals, who are the inevitable product of every period of hard times.

This sense of community responsibility for the workers is not confined to Germany. In Switzerland, according to the American Consul, R. E. Mansfield, of Zurich:

"The indigent unemployed are dealt with as an economic question. The Swiss act upon the theory that the man who is unemployed is, if left to himself, prone to become unemployable; and that for a community to allow any one of its members capable of work to remain unemployed is public waste, for the reason that, as soon as he becomes a subject of charity, he is a tax upon the community, which has to support not only the individual but also those dependent upon him. The purpose is to assist the unfortunate unemployed to secure work, not only for the sake of the individual but also in the interests of the state; to prevent his becoming a tax upon the community instead of a source of income—a consumer, instead of a producer.

"In industrial Switzerland there is no place for the idle. It is considered the duty of the authorities to assist in every way possible persons honestly seeking employment, and it is also held to be their duty to punish the work shirker and to force him to earn his bread before he may eat it." [1]

[1] *Daily Consular and Trade Reports*, March 8, 1912.

Begging is not permitted, nor is vagrancy. In some cantons a system of insurance against unemployment has been developed, by which persons who contribute a small sum per month are guaranteed work or are paid a weekly indemnity during the period of their non-employment. Unemployment insurance, however, has not yet been perfected because of the difficulties of administration. Employment agencies are also maintained by the cities and the federal government. Through these agencies nearly 50,000 places a year are filled. Of these about one-quarter are women.

Pawn-shops (*Leihäuser*) are public institutions in Germany, and have been for centuries. The loan shark is put out of business by public competition rather than by the regulation of interest rates or spasmodic criminal proceedings. The pawn-shops are administered by the city on a business basis, the rate of interest being from 1 to 2 per cent. a month, depending on the amount of the loan. Loans are made on jewelry, wearing apparel, household goods, books, or other articles of general use. Many small tradesmen use the pawn-shop as a bank of discount. They place their unseasonable goods in pledge until they are needed.

The municipal pawn-shops of Nuremberg, Hamburg, and Augsburg date from the seventeenth century. Those of Dresden, Munich, Frankfort, and Breslau are more than a hundred years old. Almost

all the cities maintain them as an aid to people in distress.

The pawn-shop at Frankfort employs a director and twenty clerks and appraisers. It occupies thirty-four rooms as well as a number of warehouses. In 1908 loans to the amount of $300,000 were made by the city.

Savings-banks to encourage thrift among the poor are found in almost every city. They have been maintained for generations and are universally used. In most of the large towns the number of depositors exceeds the total number of families, and in some cities there are twice as many depositors as households. The rate of interest paid is generally 3 per cent., the funds being invested for the most part in public securities of unquestioned stability. Branch offices are scattered all over the city to encourage their use as widely as possible. The banks are administered by the city officials at practically no expense to the depositors, the aim being to pay as high a rate of interest as possible.

In many countries special courts have been created for the settlement of disputes between employers and employees, as well as for the arbitration of controversies. These courts are made as easy of approach as possible, the procedure being very simple and informal. The decisions are speedy. The court fees are reduced to a minimum, and the employment of lawyers is discouraged. In some cases lawyers are not

permitted to appear at all, the litigants themselves being called before the court to state their case. The constant effort is to settle disputes without controversy, and a large percentage of them are so disposed of. The court is made up of employers and employees rather than of trained lawyers, each class electing its own representative. If a deadlock occurs a justice from one of the minor courts is called in to give the deciding vote. In a majority of cases controversies are settled at the first hearing and usually within a few weeks from the bringing of the action. In Germany, in 1908 only 267 cases lasted more than three months. In France the judges are subject to a penalty if the case is not disposed of within four months. In Zurich, in 1909, there were 941 cases settled without judgment, of which 768 were disposed of in less than eight days after complaint had been filed.

In France there are no fees at all if the case involves less than twenty francs. In Germany no fees are charged if the parties reach a voluntary agreement, while if a judgment is rendered the fees are graded according to the amount involved. In disputes involving more than $24, the fees range from twenty-five cents to seventy-five cents. These courts are widely used and command the confidence of the employees, rather more than of the employers, who find that judgments are more frequently given against them than under the old system.

This does not exhaust the activities of German cities in dealing with the labor problem or the provisions for the welfare of the working and the poorer classes. Experiments have been made with insurance against unemployment, although with far less success than in other fields. The intermittent nature of industrial employment is recognized and efforts are being made to protect the worker against it. This, too, is being done with the aim of minimizing pauperism by preventive legislation. Insurance against unemployment is designed to prevent the degeneration which invariably follows idleness. It is inspired partly by humane motives, partly by a far-sighted industrial intelligence, and partly by the appreciation of city officials that it costs less to tide men over industrial depression than to maintain them permanently in the pauper class.

In addition the worker must be kept in a state of efficiency for re-employment or for military purposes. Nearly a dozen cities, of which Munich, Dresden, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Strassburg, and Mayence are the chief, are experimenting with unemployment insurance. Since 1896 Cologne has been working on a system the administration of which is in the hands of a committee created by the council, consisting of the Mayor, the President of the Labor Exchange, twelve workingmen elected by the insured, and twelve honorary members chosen from among prominent citizens in the community. Approximately $25,000

was raised for the purpose by employers of labor, to which the city added $6,000 more. This is the capital fund of the system. Workmen over eighteen years of age who have resided a year in the Cologne district and have a regular calling are permitted to join the association and pay a weekly contribution of from seven to ten cents for a period of thirty-four weeks. Then if they are out of employment without fault of their own, they are entitled to insurance for fourteen weeks during the winter months. No benefits are paid if the workman is on strike or if he refuses to work. Insurance offices are run in connection with the Labor Exchange. Thus far the opportunity has been taken advantage of chiefly by masons, stone-cutters, carpenters, and seasonal workmen. The number of insured has risen to about 2,000.

Similar organizations promoted by the city or by private individuals have been started in other cities, but thus far the system is still in its experimental stage.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VISION OF THE GERMAN CITY

The attitude of mind of the German business man is different from anything I have ever known. Men talk of the city as they do of their homes, as they do of their private business affairs. Cities spend generously for many things which have no place in the budget of the American city, and they spend with an intelligent estimate of their value. Beauty is treated as a commercial asset and is justified as a means for promoting the city's growth. Taxpayers do not question the outlay for the opera and the theatre, for gardens, art galleries, and museums. They approve of expenditure to beautify the streets, to adorn them with statuary and fountains, with clock towers and other forms of ornamentation. Bridges command the talent of the architect, as do railway stations and minor public buildings. The overhead work of the railways and elevated lines is of a splendid permanence. And officials and business men defend these expenditures by an appeal to results. They say that those cities increase in population and trade that spend most generously for these things. Nor is there any protest against heavy taxes for edu-

cation, recreation, and social purposes. For it is generally recognized that industry seeks those cities that do the most to encourage trade, that stimulate commerce by opening up industrial areas, that build docks and harbors and provide cheap factory sites. Employers are attracted by educational opportunities which produce skilled workmen, and a happy, contented population. Persons of leisure choose their homes for the same reasons, while travellers seek out the cities that make the most adequate provision for education, art, music, and beauty. All these things bring money to the town. They promote business. They increase land values. Finally, the income-tax rate is reduced by contributions from the many industrial activities as well as by the increasing taxable land values which the growth of population and industry create.

Education is close-linked with life. It is vocational as well as cultural. Much of the efficiency of Germany in industry, in commerce, in those lines of manufacture which involve artistic and special training, is traceable to the thought given to the subject of education. Exhibitions are frequently held for the purpose of studying the progress of education and its achievements. In the summer of 1912 an arts and crafts exhibition was held at Dresden not unlike the exhibition of hygiene in the same city in 1911. The handicrafts were all represented, as were the domestic sciences. There were exhibits of model-

ling, the making of furniture, and studies from life. The drawing, designing, color work, landscape gardening, and interior decoration suggested the work of the practised artist rather than of the public-school child.

Every large city has its manual training and technical arts schools, which are graded from the lower classes up to higher schools for mature students. The courses of study are adjusted to the particular industries of the town. Colleges of commerce are maintained in the larger cities, in which employers and managers are trained in finance, political economy, international relations, and accounting. The studies in these schools are consciously related to the promotion of commerce and trade. The newer school buildings are elaborate and no expense has been spared to make them efficient instruments for teaching. Shower-baths are provided in the elementary schools, as are gymnasiums and playgrounds. The children are put through physical exercises and are taken on long tramps through the country.

The expenditure for education is even more generous than it is in America—not only relatively but absolutely. The city of Düsseldorf spends $1,132,400 on education, or nearly $4 per capita. Frankfort-on-the-Main spent $1,800,000 in 1907, or nearly $5 per capita. Of this, $425,000 was expended on high schools, $200,000 on middle schools, $700,000 on elementary schools, $60,000 on continuation schools,

$40,000 on trade schools, and $45,000 on technical schools. Head-masters in the high schools are paid from $1,800 to $2,500; men teachers from $550 to $1,120, and women teachers from $400 to $820. On retirement the teachers receive a pension for the remainder of their lives. The number of teachers in Frankfort schools is 1,300, of whom 301 are women.[1]

Germany provides for the leisure of its people more intelligently and generously than any other country in the world. This, too, lures hundreds of thousands of visitors and residents to that country each year. Provision for the drama, for the opera, and for art is treated as a public as well as a private function. Men and women, boys and girls, are so familiar with the old masters, that a knowledge of art and music is an almost universal possession. It seems as though the city said: "Every human being is entitled to at least an opportunity for wholesome enjoyment during his leisure hours. The coming of the city has destroyed individual play. It has taken away the country-side and left only the streets, and such opportunities as commerce offers. The parks are closed in the winter. So are the streets. The cost of commercialized amusements to the poor is prohibitive. Only through taxation can education be made a life-long thing; only by public action can the people enjoy clean, wholesome amusement. Only

[1] For a comparison of school expenditures of German and American cities see chapter III.

through the community itself can recreation be offered under modern urban conditions."

In America recreation has been left almost wholly to commerce. It is satisfied by the saloons, the dance-hall, and the theatre, at a terrible cost to the taste, the minds, and the morals of the people. We dissipate the results of education by our neglect. We leave the worker to the saloon; we break up the family, and turn the boy and girl over to the dance-hall. These are almost the only places open after a day of exhausting toil. In Germany, on the other hand, the city educates while it amuses. The opera and theatre are subsidized, and the best sort of productions are encouraged. Every capital city has its court theatre and opera-house of monumental architecture. This more than anything else explains the superiority of the drama in Europe. One hears the plays of Shakespeare, Bernard Shaw, Hauptmann, Schiller, Lessing, and other dramatists, the best English plays being presented to far more appreciative audiences than those of New York or Chicago. There are twenty subsidized court theatres in Germany and nearly one hundred maintained by individual cities. In some instances the theatre is given to the director free of rent, while in others a direct subsidy is granted. Some cities provide the orchestra, scenery, costumes, and the gas, heating, and lighting. There is no uniformity in the manner of support, but in nearly all the cities the drama and opera are generously main-

tained as essential features in the life of the community. Prices of admission are adjusted to encourage persons of small means to attend the theatre and opera. Tickets range from twelve cents to two dollars in the evening, with reduced prices for matinees. The municipal or court opera-houses and theatres of Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Frankfort, and other cities are of great beauty.

Cities also provide generously for music in connection with public or semi-public places of refreshment. Nearly all of the larger towns maintain symphony orchestras with an official director. Two or three evenings a week the best of symphony concerts are given, for which a small admission fee is charged. Munich has inaugurated a musical festival in the summer, at which a series of concerts are given from the works of the leading masters. People come to Munich from all over the world during the festival week. In nearly every large town there are daily concerts by the military bands connected with the regiments stationed in the vicinity. In cities like Berlin, Munich, Düsseldorf, and Dresden one can attend from two to three concerts a day during the summer months. They are given in the public parks or open-air restaurants, to which great crowds of people go for their evening meal or for light refreshments. Entire families spend their holidays and Sundays in the zoölogical and palm gardens or in the public parks and private beer gardens. These gardens are open

Palm Gardens, Frankfort-on-the-Main.

Exposition Park, Munich, where all Kinds of Exhibitions are Held.

The Palm Gardens, Exposition Halls, and Zoological Gardens are the favorite resorts of the people. There are open-air restaurants, with band and orchestral concerts in the evenings and on holidays.

to the air, are clean and free from disorder, and play an important rôle in the life of the community. They are accessible to even the poorest and are frequented by all classes.

Many cities, too, maintain rathskellers in the basement of the city hall. Düsseldorf owns a Ton Halle in which the best of symphony concerts can be heard three or four times a week. In recent years cities have been erecting exposition halls for industrial and art exhibitions, for mammoth concerts, and a great variety of purposes. They are usually surrounded by a park and form the recreational centre of the community. These expositions are designed to promote industrial efficiency and knowledge of local industries. They attract many visitors to the cities and indirectly pay for the expenditure in this way.

It is about the open-air concert in the parks and public halls, in the opera-house and the theatre, that the leisure life of the German revolves. It is leisurely, restful, and cultural. It provides for the family rather than for the individual; it is social in character and is consciously directed toward refinement and the development of the artistic senses. The subtraction of this public provision for leisure from the every-day life of Germany would be the destruction of much of the country's charm. Provision for leisure begins with the cradle and ends with the grave. It supplements education, and relieves the tedium of

toil. The efficiency of the German workman is in no small degree traceable to the rest, to the change in environment and in mental interests, which the community offers in these ways. There is little drunkenness and few of the environing allurements leading to excess which characterize the commercialized recreational opportunities in America.

In recent years the playground has been developed along American lines. The new suburban extensions include provision for play places and gardens within a few minutes' walk of every man's home. These playgrounds are designed with the greatest care, so as to secure the maximum of beauty and use. The gardens are of great variety and are filled with plants and flowers. The Hofgartens in the capital cities are crowded with mothers with their children every afternoon in summer enjoying the concerts. Cities almost always maintain all-year-round bath-houses, and public comfort stations. The teaching of swimming is compulsory in the schools, and during the summer months crowds of children may be seen with their teachers on their way to the baths which line the water-fronts. Almost every city has its zoölogical and palm garden, to which the children are brought in groups with their teachers. There are restaurants in connection with them where band concerts are held. The city of Munich maintains a wonderful Turkish-bath establishment of splendid architecture and the most complete appointments. It is lo-

cated upon an island in the river, and is thronged with people at all hours of the day.

Some idea of the attitude of mind of the city toward the leisure life of its people and the prominence which it gives to recreation may be gained from the expenditures which it makes for these purposes. Cologne, a city of 500,000 population, spends $129,000 a year for parks, $97,000 for public baths, and $500,000 for the theatre, for music, for art and science. It spends nearly $1.50 per capita for these purposes. Were New York City to spend as generously, taking into consideration the relative purchasing power of money, it would spend from $10,000,000 to $12,000,000 upon recreation, the theatre, music, and provisions for recreative culture. Düsseldorf, with 350,000 people, spends $64,000 on its parks, $110,000 on its theatres and orchestras, $45,000 for the arts and sciences. Mayence, with a population of 105,000, spends $29,400 on the theatre, $16,000 on baths, and $19,000 on an orchestra. Essen, with 265,000 people, spends $9,730 on its orchestra and $12,500 on its theatre. In addition there are other subsidies and subventions which increase the appropriations to a much larger sum.

The German city looks upon happiness as a public obligation. It freshens the artisan and relieves the dull monotony of his daily work. We in America have not yet realized that provision must be made for the leisure hours of the people and that their di-

rection and control must, of necessity, be in public rather than in private hands.

The same intelligence characterizes expenditures for social ends. Emergency work in hard times, for the opening up of a slum area, for the building of new schools and hospitals, is made with an appreciation of the ultimate value of such expenditure in reducing disease. The burdens of taxation are treated as a kind of investment from which dividends will be realized in the future.

There is no question but that expenditures will be made with economy and with the best talent the empire commands. Officials enjoy long tenure of office, and are selected with a view to the big projects which the city has in hand. City councils, too, command a high order of talent, drawn from business and the professions. The term of service in the council is six years, with only a partial renewal every two years, in consequence of which projects can be planned over a long period of time, while the ability of the city to borrow without limit makes it possible to project plans in a long-visioned way.

Much of the waste of the American city is due to the limitation on its borrowing powers. Cities have to adopt a hand-to-mouth policy. They are compelled to spend a hundred thousand dollars instead of a million because of the debt limit fixed by the legislature. New York has been cramped within Manhattan Island because it could not borrow

enough money to build its subways, and when relief was secured it was so inadequate that the city had to rely on private credit at colossal cost to the future in order to complete the system.

Docks and harbor development projects are hampered by similar limitations. The city cannot project plans to be carried out as the needs of the city require because of its inability to secure the necessary funds. Each department clamors for appropriations which compel an annual adjustment of the budget, not to what should be done, but to what can be done. The city of Chicago is helpless to carry out its planning and harbor projects because of limits on its borrowing capacity which have kept down its indebtedness to an insignificant sum. Cleveland has planned a harbor development for years, the city has been alive to the need for adequate sewers, new bridges, parks, playgrounds, and hospitals, but the almost inflexible debt limit of the city makes imperatively needed improvements impossible. The introduction of the expert or the improvement of the machinery of government would not correct our city problems so long as officials are cramped as they are by inflexible laws which control both the borrowing capacity and the tax limit of the city.

Big improvements are carried through in Germany on a scale which anticipates the needs of the community for generations to come. Suburban projects are worked out with great care long before work

is begun. An opportunity is offered for criticism and suggestion. When the project is ready for actual work a wide area is undertaken at once. The streets are planned in as much detail as the specifications of a great building. The project may cover a half dozen years in its completion, but when it is finished every provision has been made for a community of several thousand inhabitants.

Water, sewage, and harbor projects are undertaken in the same big-visioned way. The city of Munich long suffered from a high mortality rate due to the prevalence of typhoid fever. The water supply was inadequate. In 1883 the city undertook to bring water from pure springs far up in the Bavarian Alps. The project was a most costly one; it involved engineering difficulties which required the best of experts and involved many years in its completion. Great sewers were run through the city which are flushed by running water, impounded in the Isar River, and carried at a rapid flood through the central part of the city.

The water-front developments of cities are of the same ambitious sort and include provision for every possible need. Stone embankments are built along the river front with promenade-ways on the top, while the street and steam railway tracks are on a lower level with quays and landing-stages at the water's edge for passenger and pleasure craft. Commanding water-front sites are reserved for public

buildings, for exposition halls or parkage. Still others are dedicated to playgrounds or open spaces, while provision is made for a dock and harbor system susceptible of development to meet the growing needs of the city.

It is this vision of the municipality with a life of its own that marks off the German city from the rest of the world. There is a sense of community living, an appreciation of the fact that the city is here to stay and that its coming involves vicarious sacrifices to the many that must be relieved by the few. There is something of the municipal sense of the cities of ancient Greece or the towns of Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands during the renaissance of municipal enthusiasm of the latter middle ages. This feeling is found among all classes. It animates artisans and employers, councillors and burgomasters. The city is a conscious, living thing with a big life of its own and a definite mission to perform.

CHAPTER IX

THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN GERMANY

Germany has not solved the housing problem any more than have we. But Germany has attacked it with courage and intelligence. Bad housing is recognized to be a national menace which must be corrected in the interest of the health and efficiency of the people.

And officials seem agreed that the trouble is that there are not enough houses. Not only that, but private capital will not build enough houses to keep pace with the demand. It is not the magnitude of the problem that prevents capital from building; it is the absence of a commercial interest to induce it to do so. It is good business to perfect the automobile; to make it cheap, safe, and durable. Competition compels this in most industries. But there is no such motive driving capital to build houses or to improve their appointments. Rather the reverse is true. Capital instinctively appreciates that a limitation of the supply of houses keeps up rents and increases the value of existing property. This is true because the housing problem is a land rather than a house problem. Land-owners act just as do coal

operators, cotton-growers, or sugar-refiners in restricting the output. There is more money in land speculation than there is in house-building. That is the crux of the housing problem all over the world. Men speculate rather than build. Land speculation has created a house famine. This is the real explanation of high rents, of congestion, of the slum. There are lumber, bricks, and material enough to build all the houses the people want. And labor is eager to work upon them. There is no more difficulty about house-building than there is about any other industry. The thing that differentiates it from other activities is its identity with the land. And its identity with the land leads men to speculate and withhold land from use in the hope of increasing profits from this source.

All over the world the city is growing with the same rapidity, and with the growth of the city land values tend to increase. The urban population of Germany in 1871 was 35.5 per cent. of the total. By 1895 it had risen to 49 per cent. In the latter year 13.2 per cent. of the people lived in cities of over 100,000 population, while in 1900 the percentage had risen to 16.18 per cent. and five years later to 18.97 per cent. It is this growth in urban population that leads men to speculate in land rather than to build houses. Professor Eberstadt, of Berlin, describes the situation of the modern city by saying that "the mediæval town was surrounded by a wall to keep the invaders

out, while the modern industrial city is surrounded by a wall of land speculators, who keep the people in."

Nowhere in the world has the housing question been studied with the thoroughness that Germany has given to it. The housing problem has been studied in its relation to land, to transportation, to the health and well-being of the people. It is looked upon as one of the most important if not the most important municipal problem. The greatest variety of experiments are being made by cities, states, co-operative associations, and private individuals in the working out of the problem. City authorities issue reports upon the subject, all planning schemes are related to it, while individual factories and industrial developments are laid out with reference to the proper living of the people. There are the most minute regulations as to the height of buildings, the amount of land that may be covered by the structure, the distance houses must be set back from the street, as well as the distance which separates one house from the other. Streets are arranged so as to give the maximum of sunlight in the living-rooms. Their width is fixed so as to permit adequate open space around the houses. There is the most careful supervision of plumbing and sanitary arrangements, as well as in the provision for small parks and open spaces. The literature on the subject is voluminous, as is the legislation of the various German states. We have nothing like it in America. England,

France, Belgium, and Austria are far behind Germany in their knowledge of the subject, while in no country in the world is it treated with the same big vision and appreciation of its meaning as in Germany.

Studies have been made of the relation of urban land values to the rents people pay. In an article entitled "*Wohnungsnot*" [1] Dr. Müller asserts that the land underlying the city of Berlin increased in value during the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 by $857,000,000. It is this increase in land values that increases rent, and especially the rents of the very poor. It is this that drives up tenements, destroys the open spaces, and diminishes the size of the rooms. It is this, too, that makes it more profitable to speculate than to build. And it is realization of this fact that has convinced German housing reformers that the problem cannot be left to the free play of demand and supply, as in other industries. Mr. Camille Huysmann, of Brussels, in a study entitled, *La Plus-Value Immobile dans les Communes Belges*, has analyzed the increase of urban land values in the cities of Europe. Speaking of Berlin, he says: "Taking a hundred inhabited houses, the average site or land value increased from $82 in 1855 to $166 in 1895, an increase of 100 per cent.; while the ground rent of the individual person increased from 19.68 thalers in 1850 to 35.28 thalers in 1872. Of these hundred

[1] *Conrad's Jahrbücher*, 1902.

houses the ground rent or annual site value forced up rents, so that, whereas in 1865 30.74 per cent. had paid less than $37.50 a year, in 1895 only 8.47 per cent. paid this sum." Continuing he says: "The many inquiries conducted in Berlin demonstrate beyond question that the increase in ground rentals is more rapid than the increase in the value of real estate; that the number of cheap tenements tends to diminish, while the number of dear tenements tends to increase." He shows that, while the number of houses increased from 1886 to 1895 by but 24.8 per cent., rentals increased 36.7 per cent. Insurance on buildings increased by $500,000,000 from 1870 to 1890, while land values increased by $875,000,000. In 1881, 16.23 per cent. of the people paid an average rent of less than $37.50, while ten years later only 7.32 per cent. paid less than this sum.[1]

Investigations in Berlin have shown that the poorer classes pay from one-fifth to one-quarter of their total income in rent. Six hundred thousand, or nearly one-third of the population, live in dwellings in which each room contains five or more persons, while 80 per cent. of the working people in the larger towns of Germany are said to live in cellars, attics, and tenements inadequate to the maintenance of a decent family life. Official reports on the subject show that in the following cities, out of every 1,000 persons, there live in dwellings consisting of

[1] *La Plus-Value Immobile dans les Communes Belges*, pp. 10–12.

only one or two rooms the following number of persons, to wit: in Berlin, 731; in Breslau, 742; in Dresden, 688; in Hamburg, 523; in Hanover, 679; in Königsberg, 760; in Magdeburg, 726; in Mannheim, 610; and in Munich, 524.[1]

In the solution of the problem, Germany has adopted three general policies. In the first place, the land within and without the city is planned with great care to prevent the reappearance of tenement conditions in the new quarters. Second, the municipality either builds or promotes the building of suburban garden communities or the erection of model apartment-houses within the city. A third policy, referred to elsewhere, is the taxation of vacant land at a higher rate than improved land, to force the owner to build. In addition, the cities generally own the means of transit, which, together with the state-owned railways, are used for the distribution of population out into the country and surrounding villages.

The housing problem is treated as an integral part of town planning. When a suburban district is opened up, transportation facilities are at once provided, and before any building is permitted details of streets, parks, and open spaces are fixed by ordinance of the council after exhaustive study of the subject by engineers, landscape artists, and industrial and sanitary experts. This is all done before the

[1] *Die Wohnungsfrage*, Dr. Eugen Jaeger, Berlin, 1903.

streets are constructed or the land is placed upon the market for sale.

Health and sanitary conditions, as well as the general welfare of the people, are constantly kept in view. Residence streets in the workingmen's sections are of narrow width, in order to keep down the paving costs and permit a larger area of land to be used for parkage and open spaces. Playgrounds are provided at frequent intervals, as well as public gardens. All this is part of a conscious health programme; it is part of the conviction that healthy citizens are the best asset of the state, and that health can only be enjoyed with proper home surroundings.

It is further recognized that cheerfulness, hopefulness, and a love of life itself have value, to promote which the newer sections have a park-like appearance, it being generally recognized that the larger the town the more numerous the open spaces should be. In order to insure fresh air for everybody, buildings are lower in the outskirts than they are in the centre of the city. The towns are divided into building districts, or zones, in each of which the building regulations are adjusted to local conditions. As one passes from the centre of the city to the outskirts, the height of buildings gradually diminishes, until in the outer section only two stories are permitted.

In the second place, towns quite generally build apartment-houses or construct suburban garden cot-

tages either to rent or to sell. The state authorities frequently provide houses for their own employees, while many of the larger employers have made extensive provision for the housing of their people. As a general rule, however, housing projects are carried through by co-operative building societies, which are aided by loans from the insurance funds of the state, or by the city, at low rates of interest. Such societies are found all over Germany and are making substantial progress toward the solution of the housing problem.

The various states lend their hearty approval to this programme of municipal activity; they urge towns to build houses, to loan money to workmen, to acquire land, and extend the means of transit to the suburbs. The Interior Department lends every assistance possible and places the stamp of its approval upon this line of municipal enterprise.

The ambitious building schemes of Germany would have been impossible without this co-operation. Money is loaned for the construction of workingmen's dwellings from the reserves of the old-age pensions, accident and invalidity insurance funds, at from 2½ to 4½ per cent. interest, with provision to amortize the loan in a given number of years.[1] Some-

[1] Up to December 31, 1910, the various insurance funds had contributed $76,175,598 as loans for the erection of workingmen's houses. Of this sum $4,470,801 was invested in lodging-houses and other means of providing for the needs of unmarried wage-earners. The average rate of interest ranged from 2½ per cent. to 4¼ per cent. An exhaustive study of housing reform in German cities is found in

times the money is loaned to the municipality, which builds the houses, but more often it is loaned to co-operative building societies, which find approximately one-tenth of the necessary capital, the insurance funds providing the remaining nine-tenths for the purpose. The mortgages run for long periods of time, and the conditions of repayment are made as attractive as possible. $76,175,598 has been loaned out of the reserves of the insurance funds for this purpose. The dividends to private investors in the stock are limited to not more than 4 per cent., while the workingmen become stockholders by making partial payments in the form of rent, for which stock is issued. Subscriptions by the tenants can be withdrawn on notice, so that their investment is, in fact, like a savings bank deposit. The rents are low and are so adjusted as to pay the maintenance charges of the property, the interest on the loan and the stock, and ultimately amortize the debt. By this means a sense of home ownership is assured to the tenant along with an investment that can readily be converted into cash. The tenants acquire an interest in the entire apartment rather than in an individual home, which leads them to watch their neighbors and prevent any misuse of the property.

Wohnungsfürsorge in deutschen Städten, Berlin, Carl Heymann's Verlag, 1910. It shows the remarkable progress made in recent years in the building of new houses, as well as in the more effective control of private construction by inspectors. The building regulations governing the erection of dwellings are included.

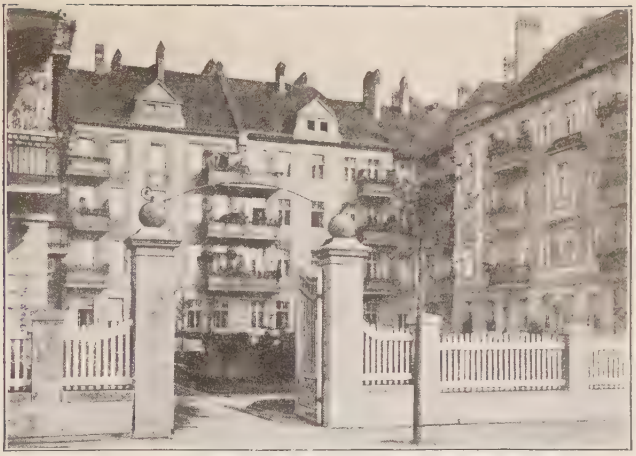
They are guaranteed against any increase in their rent and participate in the administration of the undertaking by the election of a certain number of the board of directors or trustees.

Many thousand people already live in these co-operative apartment-houses in Berlin, erected by voluntary associations aided by the insurance funds of the state. Something like ten thousand apartments are provided in the blocks so erected. These new apartment-houses are not barracks; they do not suggest the cheap, tawdry tenements of New York and Chicago. They are usually designed with great care by competent architects; they often occupy an entire city block, and are designed to secure the maximum of comfort and architectural effect.

The blocks are frequently arranged like a figure eight with two court-yards in the interior, one of which is equipped as a playground for the children with grass and sand plots, gymnastic apparatus, and other opportunities for play. The other is for grown-up persons and contains gardens, flowering plants, benches, and an opportunity for men and women to spend their evenings or holidays in a park-like enclosure. Other apartment-houses are set back from the street and have garden-plots in front. Balconies are built upon all sides of the apartment-house, which are usually ornamented with flower-boxes so that the block offers an artistic effect, with little to suggest the tenement.

The Berlin Savings and Building Society is an example of many others in Berlin, as well as of most of the large cities of the empire. The society was organized in 1881. It now has 958 dwellings or apartments in a dozen great structures. It has 5,000 members, of whom 3,500 are workmen and 1,500 are clerks. Of the 958 apartments of the Berlin Society, 223 rent at from $50 to $75 a year, 114 rent at from $75 to $87 a year, 164 at from $90 to $100 a year, while the remainder run up as high as $225 a year. The more expensive apartments contain a private bath, while all of the apartments have the use of public baths in connection with the house. Even the smallest apartment has light in abundance and a compact little kitchenette. Rooms are of comfortable size, are clean, and thoroughly sanitary. The most fastidious would find nothing to offend in the cheapest of these apartments. They bear about the same resemblance to a New York or Chicago tenement that a country villa does to a workingman's house in the mill districts of Pittsburgh. There is free water in each flat, as well as many other conveniences.

Each apartment-house is a community by itself. Usually there is a free kindergarten in which the children can be left while the parents go out to work. It is presided over by an instructor. There is a restaurant as well as a smoking, lounging, and club room for the men, with all kinds of games. A well-



Berlin Model Apartments.

Erected by co-operative societies from insurance funds. Apartments rent for from $4.50 a month upward.

Essen, Altenhof. Workmen's Colony of the Krupp Company.

chosen library and reading room is also provided. In connection with many of the houses are co-operative stores and baking establishments in which the tenants buy their supplies at cost. In the basement there is a free public wash and drying establishment. All these services are included in the rent which the tenant pays. There is no suggestion of charity and little patronizing oversight. Each house is administered separately, partly by the tenants, partly by the society which erects them. The tenants choose a house master who collects the rents, watches the premises, and represents the tenants before the board of directors. These tenements are highly prized. There is a large waiting list of applicants who cannot be accommodated.

The Chamber of Commerce of Frankfort-on-the-Main, in a pamphlet prepared by it entitled: *A Glimpse of Social Reform in Germany*, describes the co-operative apartment-houses erected by the city, as well as their relation to the state insurance funds, as follows:

"The [insurance] administration has loaned, up to the end of 1909, 280,000,000 marks on mortgage to small apartment building societies, both joint-stock and co-operative and also to individuals. The seventy-six houses [in the city of Frankfort] cost 1,430,000 marks, and the provincial administration loaned to the company 1,350,000 marks, or 92 per cent. of their value. It loaned almost the full value because sufficient provisions for a sinking-fund

have been made and because of the indirect benefits it derives. That this way of employing the funds of the insurance is a step in the right direction is proved by the fact that the mortality in the apartments of the society is but six per cent., as against an average of 13.84 per cent. in the city as a whole. The mortality of 5.8 per cent. among the infants contrasts very favorably with that in the city generally, which is 12.37 per cent. The state insurance authorities cannot invest their money to any better purpose. The society in Frankfort is a joint-stock company whose sole purpose is to build small apartment houses. It belongs to the class of so-called public utility societies, as it does not seek an economic rent, its dividend being restricted by statute to three and one-half per cent. All earnings above this rate are used for the maintenance of the so-called dwellings extension. As it is impossible for the rent paid by the tenant to furnish each apartment with a parlor, library, and nursery, separate club-houses have been erected. In these club-houses the youngsters are taken care of by trained kindergarten nurses, while their parents are earning their living or while the mother attends to her household duties. Here the tired father may read the papers in the evening undisturbed or play a game of chess or dominos with his next-door neighbor. Entertainments are given in the club-house, and on Christmas Eve a big Christmas-tree celebration is held."

The city of Ulm, in Würtemberg, has carried through the most ambitious and famed housing programme of any city in Germany, if not in the world. The city is an important manufacturing centre of about 56,000 inhabitants and owns 80 per cent. of

all the land in and around the city. In 1902 the city authorities acquired the site of the old fortifications which surrounded the city, and began the development of a town planning and housing programme. It was seen that the razing of the fortifications and the opening up of the outlying territory would greatly increase the value of the real estate, so the city determined that the improvements should benefit the city itself and not the land speculators. As early as 1891 the council began to buy the surrounding land, and by 1909 nearly 1,200 acres had been purchased, at a total cost of $1,389,640. Four hundred and five acres were later resold for $1,623,-924, leaving the city with 805 acres, and a net profit of $234,284 from the sale of one-third of its purchase. Ulm was already a large landlord, and the addition of these holdings brought the total area of the city's possessions up to 4,942 acres.

The territory surrounding the town, including the fortifications, was laid out for the purposes for which it was best fitted. One section was set aside for all kinds of business, for minor industries and dwelling-houses. In another section close beside the railways provision was made for large manufacturing plants. Elsewhere a suburb was planned for the working classes, while in another section the land was planned for villas and houses of substantial size. A great woods was reserved for recreation and sport. Municipal ordinances were passed which fix the type and

kind of houses that may be built in the several districts. Almost all of the houses are of the detached-cottage type, those in the workingmen's district being required to be at least seventeen feet apart, while those of clerks and well-to-do persons must be twenty-three feet apart. In the more expensive residence district the interval between the houses must be from thirty-three feet to forty-seven feet, according to the value of the property.

Inasmuch as the city owns 80 per cent. of the land it is able to keep down prices for both industrial and residence purposes. The contracts of sale contain restrictions as to the type and character of houses that may be built, as well as a provision that purchasers must build within a given number of years. Speculation is eliminated by a reservation which permits the city to buy back the land and to refuse its assent to any sale to other purchasers, as well as to control the rent to be paid.

The city itself has built 175 individual houses, containing 291 apartments, for 1,367 inhabitants. These apartments are built for sale rather than for rent. The purchaser pays 10 per cent. down and the balance at 3 per cent. interest and 2 per cent. for the sinking-fund to repay the mortgage. Co-operative societies have constructed 18 other apartment-houses containing 62 flats. The kingdom of Würtemburg, the postal administration, and several industrial undertakings have also erected houses for their em-

ployees. The houses are of cement, are usually two stories in height, and are so arranged that the purchaser can rent one floor and occupy another. Rents range from $41.65 per year for two rooms up to $90.44 for three rooms. The houses erected by the building societies are on municipal land under a leasing system, the city agreeing to buy back the houses at the end of seventy years for 80 per cent. of the construction value.

Just outside of the city of Dresden, and connected with it by trolley, is another experiment in the solution of the housing problem, which is being widely copied. It is Hellerau, the first garden-city in Germany. It was promoted by a private individual, but is being carried out along co-operative lines. Three hundred and forty-five acres of land were purchased and laid out as a suburban residence for artists, clerks, and workingmen along the lines of mediæval German towns. The undertaking was started in 1909, and the first year one hundred and fifty cottages were built, which were immediately occupied. The next year as many more cottages were erected. By 1912 nearly 300,000 square metres of land had been developed for dwellings, country houses, and industrial purposes.

Cottages are erected by a co-operative building society and are rented to members only, at from $62 to $150 annually. Each cottage has a garden, a cellar, a separate scullery, with water, gas, and electric

light. The smallest cottages contain four rooms—a kitchen and living-room on the ground floor, and two bedrooms on the upper floor. The houses contain the most compact equipment for heating, for cooking and laundry purposes. In order to become a member of the society stock to the amount of $47.60 must be subscribed for. In another quarter of the village villas and residences are being built, to rent for from $200 to $500 a year. These contain steam heat, warm water, and other conveniences. All of the houses are built by the garden-city company, and are let on a basis sufficient to pay interest on the value of the land and building and the ultimate repayment of the cost.

The whole village is laid out like the garden-cities of England. Artistic effects are secured through a building commission which passes upon all architects' plans. In connection with the village is a physical training institute. There are schools for younger children, while an agricultural college is planned. In two years' time the population has grown to 2,000.

The success of Hellerau has led to the organization of other garden-city societies in different parts of the empire.

Karlsruhe started a suburban garden-city in 1911 of 30 acres of land, and Ratshof with 500 acres, and a building project of 55 houses. Nuremberg and Munich have laid out 165 and 200 acres, respectively,

along garden-city lines. Nuremberg plans the erection of 74 houses, while the Munich project involves the ultimate housing of from twelve to thirteen thousand people. All of these undertakings are financed by direct action of the municipality or through co-operative associations supplied with funds at a low rate of interest by the municipal savings-bank and the insurance department of the empire.

One of the promoters of the German garden-city describes the motives underlying these new experiments as follows:

"We understand, then, by a garden city or garden suburb, not a pleasant town or suburb with a few gardens within its walls. Nor has the term anything to do with the colonies or villas which land speculators adorn with the name of 'garden cities' in order to attain public recognition of their purely commercial enterprises. A garden city is a systematically planned settlement on suitable land which will be in the permanent possession, in the last resort, of the community (state, commune, society, etc.), in such a manner that any land speculation will be altogether prevented and the increment in value assured to the community. The social and economic basis provides and secures to the newly established city the garden also—(even for those of slender means)—and so makes it a garden city."

Germany is attacking the housing problem in still another way. It is being treated as a land as well as a house problem. And along with the building of houses by municipalities, state authorities, and co-

operative associations, the cities and the state are using the agency of taxation to discourage land speculation. This is one of the motives behind the unearned increment tax described elsewhere; it is a motive fully appreciated by city authorities and housing reformers. Cities tax unimproved land at double the rate imposed on improved land. By this means they place official approval upon those who build. The imperial unearned increment tax of 1911 exempts land used by co-operative societies, municipalities, and associations organized to build small homes, for the same reason.

The world has only begun to realize that taxation can be used to promote a social policy, just as it has been used in the past to promote an industrial policy. By means of the protective tariff we attempt to encourage domestic industry by excluding foreign competition. By means of high licenses and excise taxes we seek to control the liquor traffic, reduce the number of saloons, and increase the cost of intoxicating liquors to the consumer. During the Civil War we drove the bank-notes of the State banks out of circulation by a Federal tax of 10 per cent., which made their issue impossible.

For different reasons Germany, England, Australia, and Western Canada are beginning to tax land monopoly to discourage speculation. Increased taxation on vacant land forces the owner to use it or to sell it to some one who will. The tax imposed in these

countries is not yet very burdensome, but it has been found effective in discouraging idle landholding.

The Mayor's Committee on Congestion in New York a few years ago recommended reducing the tax rate on improvements to one-half the rate imposed on land, to encourage building and discourage land speculation. It seems quite obvious that a tax on buildings discourages buildings just as the Federal tax on bank-notes destroyed their issue. It is equally apparent that the taxation of idle land compels its owners to use it. The increased taxation of suburban land will open it up for homes, for market-gardening, for all sorts of purposes. It will make jobs for more men, and this, in turn, will increase the labor demand and improve the standard of living of the workers.

This policy of land value taxation will destroy the psychological motive, referred to earlier in the chapter, which obstructs the building of houses. For if we tax land heavily enough there will be less reason for holding it idle in the hope of speculative gain. Men will be compelled by economic necessity to use their land. It will not be possible to erect tax-earners which disfigure the community, or to hold a growing city close confined within narrow limits. Taxation will offset the hope of speculative profits. Landowners will be driven by the same forces that drive automobile builders to perfect their output; they will be driven by necessity to build, and when that

time comes the building of houses will be like any other competitive industry.

If we compel owners to build, the housing problem will take care of itself. There will be no need of municipal dwellings; little need of tenement regulation. Competition will take care of this. At the same time the art of house building will become a real art, as it must become if houses seek tenants instead of tenants seeking houses. It will awaken architects, artists, and decorators. Then men will build houses that combine use with beauty, variety with comfort—houses that reflect the intelligence of the modern world.

And the conditions which now prevail in housing can only be reversed by some such pressure as this, that will increase the supply so that tenants will always have a choice. If landlords compete for tenants just as business men compete for buyers, then a new type of house will be erected; then the tenement will be improved of necessity, while the competition of suburban land will lower rents to all classes. And this condition of competition by landlords for tenants can only be brought about by two means: either by the erection of dwellings by the community in competition with private owners, or by such a heavy taxation of land values that land cannot be kept out of productive use.

CHAPTER X

SOCIALIZING THE MEANS OF TRANSIT

TRANSPORTATION is a private business in America. In Germany and England it is more of a social agency. It is an agency closely related to the housing of the people, the distribution of population and the increase in opportunities for more wholesome living and play. All the countries of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain and France, own the steam railways, while outside of France and Belgium the street railways are generally in public hands. Officials treat the means of transit as integral parts of the streets and highways which control the place as well as the way in which people live. Transit fixes rents. It determines the comfort, the health, and physical well-being of the community. Even the morals of the city are related to the means of transportation, because of their close connection with housing, congestion, and opportunities for recreation.

For the means of transit control urban life. They determine the height of buildings and the nature of construction. It was belated transit facilities that shot up the tenement and the skyscraper. It intensified land values and created the slum. People had

to build toward the heavens because they could not build along the ground.

High rents and inadequate housing are the costliest burdens of private ownership of the means of transit. Excessive fares, fictitious capitalization, all these are far less burdensome to the community than the artificial, unsanitary, and unwholesome living conditions which the close crowding of people creates. And these conditions are largely traceable to the private ownership of transit.

Railways and elevated lines in Europe are built into the city as though they were its circulatory system. They do not offend the eye; do not destroy whole sections of the community with ugly approaches, bad terminals, and unsightly overhead work. The stations are things of beauty as well as of use, while the water-fronts, when occupied by tracks and terminals, are protected from destruction by them. Grade crossings have everywhere been eliminated for the protection of life. And the overhead work is designed by artists, so that the elevated structures of Germany, Belgium, and France are adornments to the city. Everywhere service is the paramount consideration. Industry is encouraged by cheap rates, while travel is made as cheap and comfortable as possible. The engineer, the artist, and the administrator unite in the development of transportation facilities as a social rather than a merely profit-making enterprise.

Of the fifty largest cities in Germany twenty-three operate the street railways, while of a similar number in Great Britain forty-two operate them. In neither of these countries is there any movement away from municipal ownership, even where the most rigid regulation is possible. For experience has shown that regulation touches only the evils of overcapitalization, excessive charges, and obviously bad service. Private ownership does not permit the city to build in a far-sighted way or to treat transit as an integral part of city building.

German cities adopted ownership, just as they did in Great Britain, after a test of private ownership. Franchises were originally granted to private corporations for from twenty-five to forty years. But conflicts were constant over the same questions that arise in this country. Employees were overworked and underpaid. The service was unsatisfactory. Cities desired extensions into the suburbs in connection with their housing programmes. The corporations, on the other hand, resisted such extensions; they tried to restrain the city within narrow limits, as short hauls increase car-mile earnings. For it is the car-mile rather than the gross earnings that determine street-railway profits. High car-mile earnings mean high dividends. Low car-mile earnings mean small dividends. That is the reason for street-car crowding. It explains the strap-hanger. It is always to the interest of street railways to congest

population in the smallest possible compass. It is to the interest of the community, on the other hand, to distribute population as widely as possible. Herein is an inevitable conflict between the community and private interest in the business of transportation. It is this that makes it essentially a public function, for no matter what the regulation, this conflict of interest precludes the harmonious adjustment of the private to the public interest in the matter of transit. This conflict does not exist to the same extent in other public utilities.

Transfer to public ownership in Germany was generally coincident with the change from horse to electric traction. This enabled the cities to acquire the properties at a relatively low valuation before the corporations had appropriated the economies and increased earnings which followed the electrification of the lines. And everywhere the change has been followed by improvement in service. This is obvious, even to the casual traveller, as he passes from Düsseldorf, Cologne, Frankfort, and Dresden to Hamburg and Berlin. The public lines are more permanently constructed than the private ones. Cars are better, cleaner, and more comfortable. The employees are more courteous. Everywhere tracks are laid flush with the pavement, while girder-grooved rails are universally used. There is scarcely any noise from worn-out cars or bad tracks. Some cities have abolished street-car advertisements. And in all

these cities the strap-hanger is not permitted. There are no "step forward," "step lively" orders from the conductors. This is true even during rush hours. Comfort and convenience are studied in construction as well as in operation. The artist confers with the builder in the designing of cars, in the building of waiting-rooms to protect the people from inclement weather, as well as in the signs along the route which indicate the destination of cars. In the wider streets the tracks are sodded with grass to keep down the dust and reduce the noise.

The zone system of fares prevails in Germany as it does in Great Britain, the rate being generally 2½ cents, which includes the right of transfer. Beyond the city limits higher fares are charged. But the average fare is much lower than in this country. There is a curious custom in Germany of feeing conductors, in consequence of which wages are lower than they are in England, although they are higher than under private operation.

Dresden is typical of other German cities in the number of devices adopted for the convenience of passengers. Even a stranger can use the street railways without knowing the language or the street arrangement. Each of the eighteen lines is designated by a number instead of by name. Cars on the even-numbered routes are painted red, while those on the odd-numbered routes are painted yellow. The number is conspicuously displayed on the car, as are the

general route names, which are indicated by signs on the sides. Within the car is a map, on one side of which are shown the routes of all the car lines together with their numbers, while on the opposite side are the various zones into which the city is divided.

There are two belt lines which intersect all other lines and make every part of the city accessible with a maximum of two transfers. Cars are supplied with clocks furnished as an advertisement. Stops are indicated by red signs attached to the lamp-posts. They are usually in the middle of a block, so as to interfere as little as possible with traffic at street intersections. Illuminated index signs are placed at the principal railway stations for the convenience of strangers. The rates of fare are arranged according to the zone system. Two cents is the fare for a single average ride, while four cents is the maximum. Trailers are used during rush hours in which smoking is permitted.

In Berlin, where the lines are in private hands, the service is excellent. There are more seats than passengers at almost every hour of the day. There is little or no overcrowding during rush hours. Not more than seven persons are permitted to stand. The rush-hour traffic is handled by the use of trailers, which are of light construction but easy-running. Each car contains descriptive maps and indicators arranged so that the passenger can tell where he is

as well as the route and destination of the car. In the suburbs tracks are laid in grass-plots in the centre of the street. The rate of fare is a flat charge of 2½ cents, which entitles the passenger to a maximum ride of thirteen miles. Workingmen's tickets are sold at the rate of 23.8 cents a week when used twice a day and for half that sum when used but once. Tickets for school-children cost but 71.4 cents a month. Most of the lines are so routed that transfers are not necessary.

Berlin is also served by a private elevated and subway system which has been extended far into the suburbs. There is scarcely any noise from the elevated lines, as the tracks are heavily ballasted. The stations are completely enclosed from the weather, and are of beautiful design. Those in conspicuous places have the imposing beauty of the German railway station. The elevated is called the "Umbrella of Berlin," because it offers a means of shelter from the rain and the sun, while the operation is so nearly noiseless as to cause the minimum annoyance to the public.

The city of Frankfort-on-the-Main, which began the operation of its lines in 1903, is consciously promoting suburban development through its tramways. The new industrial sections, as well as the surrounding villages, have been linked with the city railways in a comprehensive way. An official statement of the policy of the city in regard to transit is as follows:

"It is of great importance that there is good tram connection between the city and the new district. The city of Frankfort is in a fortunate situation of being the owner of the tramway, and can carry out a scheme for traffic quite independent of a too far-reaching consideration of receipts. Frankfort will, therefore, immediately lay down an electric tram connection so that it will be already in use while the industrial section is in course of development. Further, the city will construct its own suburban lines, with its special permanent way, which will travel with greater speed. This railway will run to the surrounding villages, where the working classes can, in general, live cheaper, better, and healthier than in the city."

The steam-railroads of Germany are also used for the development of suburbs and the improvement of housing conditions. Very cheap commutation fares are charged, which are consciously adjusted for luring the working classes out into the surrounding country. One can live many miles from Berlin and travel to and fro each day at less cost than that of surface transportation in this country. On holidays and Sundays innumerable train-loads of people are sent out into the country at very low fares. From early morning until late at night the trains are filled with families taking an outing. As one enters the crowded stations or goes to the various resorts, it seems as though the whole population were out on a holiday. In Switzerland, Belgium, and Denmark tickets are sold good for a fortnight, which entitle the holder to

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ELEVATED RAILWAY IN BERLIN ALONG CANAL.

Showing method of construction, development of water-ways and water-front parking.

travel as far and as many times as he likes. They are designed to stimulate travel and a knowledge of the country. They are a kind of vacation tickets, limited in time but not in distance.

No country in Europe has done as much as Belgium to consciously use its railroads to distribute the working population out into the countryside. It has done this by extremely low fares upon the state-owned railway lines. Beginning in 1870, the government inaugurated workingmen's trains on almost all of its lines at very low rates, and at hours to suit the convenience of the work-people going to and returning from their work. A man may live six miles in the country and travel to and from his work six days a week for 24 cents; he can live 31 miles and pay but 43 cents, and he can live 62 miles and pay but 60 cents a week. This is for two trips a day.

While the ordinary fare in a third-class compartment is 58 cents for a single return journey of 31 miles, a workman can travel this same distance to and fro six days in the week for 43 cents.

This has worked a profound revolution in the distribution of workmen. In 1870, when the system was inaugurated, 14,223 tickets were sold, and in twenty years' time their number has increased to 4,515,214.

The great majority of these tickets are sold to men who make six journeys a week to and from their homes. It is estimated that from ninety thousand

to one hundred thousand workmen, or a ninth of the total industrial population, travel daily on the state railways to and from their work. They live in the country and enjoy some of the advantages of living on a farm.

The effect of this policy has been described by Emile Vandervelde in these words:

"Nothing surprises the traveller who goes from London to Brussels more than the contrast between the solitary stretches of pasture in Kent and the animated landscapes in the neighborhood of Belgian towns. Enter Hesbaye or Flanders from whatever side one may, the country is everywhere thickly strewn with white, red-roofed houses; some of them standing alone, others lying close together in populous villages. If, however, one spends a day in one of the villages—I mean one of those in which there is no local industry—one hardly sees a grown-up workman in the place, and almost believes that the population consists nearly entirely of old people and children. But in the evening quite a different picture is seen. We find ourselves, for example, some twelve or thirteen miles from Brussels at a small railway station in Brabant, say Rixensast, Genval, or La Hulpe. A train of inordinate length, consisting almost entirely of third-class carriages, runs in. From the rapidly opened doors stream crowds of workmen, in dusty, dirty clothes, who cover all the platform as they rush to the doors, apparently in feverish eagerness to be the first to reach home, where supper awaits them. And every quarter of an hour, from the beginning of dusk till well into the night, trains follow trains, discharge part of their human

freight, and at all the villages along the line set down troops of workmen—masons, plasterers, paviors, carpenters with their tool-bags on their backs. Elsewhere it is colliers, miners, workmen in rolling-mills and foundries, who are coming from the Mons district, or Charleroi or Liège, some of them obliged to travel sixty or seventy miles to reach their homes in some world-forgotten nook in Flanders or Limburg. And on other parts of the railway, in Campine, in Flanders or the Ardennes, Antwerp dock-laborers, weavers in the Roubaix and Tourcoing factories, metal-workers, travel daily into France, and when their day's work is done return to the country place where they find their beds. In short, in Belgium, there are few villages which do not contain a group of industrial workers who work at a distance, and often at a great distance, from their homes."

A study of the European city compels a readjustment of one's ideas of municipal ownership. Instead of inefficiency one finds efficiency. In the place of indifference to improvements the city is more open-minded than are the private managers. The public employees are more courteous than are the private ones, while officials are constantly on the alert to increase the comfort and convenience of the people.

In addition to the other advantages, public ownership enables cities to experiment in a way that is not possible under private management. They ascertain for themselves as to what the service costs. They have also been able to introduce many new devices. And improvement has almost always followed the

change from private to public hands. With cheap and adequate credit, and with no fear of franchise expirations, the city builds for permanence. And the publicly owned lines are far in advance of the private ones in this respect. Almost everywhere in Europe the means of transit have taken their place alongside of health, police, and fire administration as natural activities of the community, and as inseparably bound up with a proper city programme.

CHAPTER XI

NEW SOURCES OF REVENUE; THE UNEARNED INCREMENT TAXES

All over the world governments are seeking new sources of revenue with which to satisfy demands for war and naval purposes as well as the social legislation which industrial conditions have created. All over the world, too, protests are being made against the injustice of customs and excise taxes, exacted mostly from the poor; against the many indirect taxes that have come down to us from feudal times.

And it is interesting to note that a tendency is manifest to return to the sources from which all revenues came in early times; to the taxation of the land itself, which for centuries was almost the only source of state and local revenues.

The beginning of the movement for the taxation of land values in Germany is generally ascribed to the activity of the *Bund der Boden Reformer*, or Land Reform Society, of which Dr. Adolf Damaschke, of Berlin, is the leader, while the first experiment with the unearned increment tax, or *wertzuwachssteuer*, was in a distant Asiatic colony. In 1898 Germany ac-

quired the harbor of Kiaotchau from China under a lease for ninety-nine years, with all the rights of sovereignty. The area of the concession was 160 square miles. In twelve years' time Kiaotchau has become one of the most successful German colonies. The harbor is said to be the finest in eastern Asia, not even excepting Hong-Kong, while the city has been planned in a comprehensive way by experts on the subject. Its trade has grown with phenomenal rapidity, the exports having increased from $1,650,000 (Chinese dollars) in 1899 to $15,143,847 in 1907, while the total trade of the port increased from $6,000,000 to $51,000,000 during the same period.

German land reformers trace the success of the harbor to the land and taxing policy adopted on its transfer to German authorities. At least the experience of Kiaotchau is constantly cited as proof of the wisdom of taxing land values. The admiral commanding the German squadron, Von Diederichs, and the Chinese commissary, Doctor Schrameier, were both members of the German Land Reform Society. They saw that the harbor was bound to grow, and that land speculation would inevitably follow. They appreciated that the growth of the harbor might be checked by real-estate speculators, and that the community itself might be enriched if it retained the speculative profits itself. A German writer[1] describes the means employed to prevent specula-

[1] R. Ockel, in *Westminster Review*, July, 1908.

tion and encourage the development of the harbor as follows:

"The system of land tenure adopted in Kiaotchau is largely responsible for this phenomenal rise of a previously unknown place. On taking over the land at the price ruling before the seizure by the German Government, the order of the 2nd September, 1898, stipulated that the buyer of land shall pay a tax of 33 per cent. on the increased value, and that if a plot of land is not sold for twenty-five years, the owners shall pay a tax of 33 per cent. on the increased value found by assessment to have taken place. The owner of land has to give notice of any intended sale, and (in order to prevent under-assessment) the Government has the first option to buy at the owner's figure. In addition, every land-owner has to pay each year a tax of 6 per cent. of the capital value of his land. The owner's valuation is taken, but again (in order to avoid under-assessment), the Government has the right to buy at the owner's figure. This tax effectually stops all speculation in land, and prevents the holding of land idle. The withholding of land from use is further checked by the regulation that, if land is not being built upon at a certain date, in accordance with the stipulated plan of building, the owner forfeits his right of property, and the Government takes it back, paying only half the assessed value. Instead of forfeiting the right of property, the order of December 31, 1903, imposes a progressive land value tax, which effects the same purpose of forcing the land into use."

The motive of these taxes was to discourage any one from acquiring land except for use, and at the

same time to compel purchasers to use their holdings in a productive way. Land speculation is made costly rather than profitable, for no one but the community can hold land idle in the expectation of speculative gains.

Prior to this experiment Germany had been familiarized with the idea of taxing land values by the work of Professor Adolf Wagner, of the University of Berlin, probably the leading authority on finance in Germany, who had advocated the taxation of the unearned increment of land for years.

Prior to 1893 German communities assessed real property on the income it actually produced, rather than on its actual value for purposes of sale. This was the universal practice in Europe, as it still is in many other countries. About twenty years ago the interior department of Prussia issued an order based upon an act of the Prussian diet advising cities and smaller local divisions to assess land according to its selling value instead of upon the rent derived from it. Within a few years 350 communities adopted the new system of valuation in the face of the hostility of speculators and large land-owners. Revenues from real-estate taxes increased greatly. In Breslau they sprang from $2,530 in 1898 to $79,000 in 1899. In Schöenberg receipts increased from $356 in 1895 to $56,724 in 1902. In Kattawitz they increased from $93 in 1901 to $8,506 in 1902. "The result," a German writer says, "has been to discour-

age the holding up of land and to open to both labor and capital further avenues of employment. As a matter of fact, hardly any unemployed are to be found at present in Germany, and a scarcity of labor has set in that seriously troubles many an employer."[1]

The periodical valuation of the land at its selling value made it possible to introduce the unearned increment tax, or *wertzuwachssteuer*. It disclosed to the authorities the increasing value of city land, and confirmed the claims of land reformers that here was an untapped source of revenue for local purposes.

German cities have great freedom in local matters and wide latitude in the matter of taxation. In 1904 the city of Frankfort-on-the-Main evolved the unearned increment tax, which in a few years' time spread to nearly every large city in Germany. It is not the single tax of Henry George, and it has awakened little enthusiasm among his followers, although it is a partial appropriation by the community of the values which the community creates. For the single tax would collect all the needed revenue of city, state, and nation from the land, irrespective of any increase in value. By so doing it would force land into use and prevent speculation.

The single tax is primarily a social philosophy and only incidentally a means of collecting revenues. The *wertzuwachssteuer*, on the other hand, is pri-

[1] "The Taxation of Land Values in Germany," R. Ockel, *Westminster Review*, London, July, 1907.

marily a revenue measure, although it does discourage land speculation.

Under the municipal ordinances of Frankfort the following land taxes were collected. First, on every change of ownership a tax of 2 per cent. is paid on the selling price of the property. This is simply a transfer tax, irrespective of whether the property has increased in value or not. Second, the unearned increment taxes were divided into two classes: (1) those on the increase in the value of land, which continues without transfer in the hands of the same owner, and (2) taxes upon speculative profits realized from its sale. In the first case an ad-valorem tax of from 1 to 6 per cent. is imposed upon the increase in value, the tax upon land which is improved or built upon being about one-half of the tax upon land which is not improved and is held idle. This is to encourage improvements. The rates upon profits made from the sale of land are higher, and range from 2 per cent. to 25 per cent., depending upon the size of the profits and the time in which they are realized.

These taxes were only imposed when twenty years elapsed between changes of ownership, and where the increase in value is more than 15 per cent. The seller is held responsible for the tax.

The new tax has swept over Germany with great rapidity, and indicates the way new ideas are adopted in that country as well as the indifference of officials to property interests that stand in the way of

the city's welfare. Community after community adopted it until, in April, 1910, the tax had been introduced into cities and towns with an aggregate population of 15,000,000. Nor is there any substantial protest against it, in spite of the fact that real-estate interests are active in city politics as well as the provision of the Prussian law that one-half of the members of the city council must be owners of real estate. The tax meets with all but universal approval.

Mr. Robert C. Brooks, writing in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, states that, following its adoption—

"the new tax started upon a triumphal progress through the German municipalities. Before the end of 1907 it had been introduced by eleven cities, among which, besides Cologne, the more considerable were Dortmund, Essen, and Frankfurt-am-Main. Since that date the accessions have continued with increasing rapidity until by April 1, 1910, no fewer than 457 German cities and towns had adopted the unearned increment tax. In Prussia alone 159 cities and 13 rural counties had introduced it prior to 1910. As the new form of taxation found most favor in rapidly growing places of large and considerable population the true significance of the foregoing is greater than the bare figures might indicate. Of the Prussian cities and towns which had introduced the tax prior to April 1, 1910, 27 had more than 100,000 inhabitants, 72 between 20,000 and 100,000, and 64 between 5,000 and 20,000. Berlin (2,018,279 population), after rejecting the new principle in 1907, finally accepted it in March, 1910. Nearly all the hustling

suburbs of the metropolis had anticipated it in this action. Among other large cities not already mentioned which have introduced the unearned increment tax are Hamburg (874,878 population), Leipsic (503,672), Breslau (470,904), Kiel (163,772), and Wiesbaden (100,953)." [1]

In 1909 the Reichstag considered the advisability of adopting the unearned increment tax for imperial purposes, but action on the measure was delayed to enable the government to study its workings in the cities. In February, 1911, the proposal became a law, with the approval of all parties save the Social Democrats, the Catholics, and a portion of the Independents, the vote in the Reichstag being 199 for its passage to 93 against it.

The Imperial law is an adaptation of the ordinances of the cities. Sales of land in individual parcels of 5,000 marks ($1,250) are exempt, as are large parcels of 20,000 marks ($5,000). Land held by public authorities, by housing associations which limit their return to 4 per cent., and holdings of philanthropic associations are exempt. These exceptions are designed to encourage the building of homes and the

[1] "The German Imperial Tax on the Unearned Increment," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August, 1911. See also a prior article by the same author entitled, "The New Unearned Increment Taxes in Germany," *Yale Review*, vol. XVI, p. 236, November, 1907.

A number of reports on the local ordinances of German cities are to be found in a special consular report entitled "Municipal Taxation in Foreign Countries." Vol. XLII. Issued by the Bureau of Manufactures, Washington. For the latest information on the subject see *Daily Consular and Trade Report*, June 22, 1912.

promotion of co-operative and municipal housing schemes described elsewhere.

The basis of the tax is arrived at from the following facts: first, the price paid for the property at the last sale; second, the cost of the permanent improvements which have been placed upon it by the owner; and third, the selling price. The unearned increment or profits subject to the tax is the difference between the selling price and the sum of the other two items. The measure was opposed by the land speculators and real estate interests, who succeeded in so amending it that its friends claimed it "had no teeth in it."

Increases in value are calculated from December 31, 1910, to catch a large number of sales made during the consideration of the measure. Stock corporations had also been formed to anticipate the law, and the measure was made retroactive as to such transfers by being made applicable to all sales subsequent to March 31, 1905, about the time of the adoption of the first municipal ordinances. Finally the law reaches back to January 1, 1885, to ascertain the price on which increments are calculated. And if no sale had taken place subsequent to that date the valuation of the property as of January 1, 1885, is taken as the base line from which increases are to be estimated.

Included in the improvements which may be deducted are all permanent betterments as well as all

assessments paid by the owner for sewers, street improvements, and other municipal betterments. Other exceptions of a rather complicated kind are permitted which include ordinary carrying charges at a fixed per cent. on the investment, as well as the costs of the transfer. In addition the whole increment is exempt unless it has advanced at a rate of from 4 to 5 per cent. a year. The rate of the tax imposed depends on the percentage of the unearned increment to the purchase price subject to the exemptions referred to.

Consul-General A. M. Thackera of Berlin describes the new law and the rates of taxation imposed as follows:[1]

"The rate of taxation varies from 10 to 30 per cent. The highest rate is imposed when the value of the real estate has increased 290 per cent. or more, and the lowest rate when the increase is less than 10 per cent." The table on next page gives the rate of taxation.

"The high rates are rarely assessed, as large increases in value occur only after the real estate has been held by the same owner for a long period, whereby, according to paragraph 16 of the law, there is a great reduction on account of long tenure. For every year that comes into consideration in levying the tax 2½ per cent. is added to the value of real estate valued up to 100 marks per are (2.21 cents per square foot). When the value is more than 100 marks per are, 2½ per cent. is added to that part

[1] *Daily Consular and Trade Reports*, June 22, 1912.

up to 100 marks, and to the part above this sum 2 per cent. is added if the land is not improved, and 1½ per cent. if improved. As a result of this allowance any real estate whose value is increasing gradu-

Increase of Value	Tax on Increase
	Per cent.
Up to 10 per cent	10
10 to 30 per cent	11
30 to 50 per cent	12
50 to 70 per cent	13
70 to 90 per cent	14
90 to 110 per cent	15
110 to 130 per cent	16
130 to 150 per cent	17
150 to 170 per cent	18
170 to 190 per cent	19
190 to 200 per cent	20
200 to 210 per cent	21
210 to 220 per cent	22
220 to 230 per cent	23
230 to 240 per cent	24
240 to 250 per cent	25
250 to 260 per cent	26
260 to 270 per cent	27
270 to 280 per cent	28
280 to 290 per cent	29
Over 290 per cent	30

ally and whose ownership remains unchanged is, in the event of a sale, in part or wholly relieved from paying this tax.

"In addition to the foregoing far-reaching provision for length of ownership, paragraph 28 of the law provides that the tax be lessened by 1 per cent. for every entire year considered in assessing the tax. If the property was acquired before January 1, 1900, the reduction is 1½ per cent. a year for the whole period up to January 1, 1911. Commenting upon the

law, Dr. W. Boldt, of the city council of Dortmund, says:

"'By this twofold reduction the extremely large gains which are realized in the large cities as the result of original possession or of acquisition many years ago through speculation are favored entirely too much. While this allowance for an increase of value without taxation, provided for in paragraph 16 of the law, is thoroughly approved of in principle, it seems urgently to be desired that the reduction of the tax provided for in paragraph 28 of the law should be done away with or considerably lessened in the event of the revision of the law. This reduction of the tax, besides favoring the increased values provided for in paragraph 16, benefits particularly the large property-holders and real estate which was acquired through speculation many years ago, as well as encouraging the retention of real estate in the large cities for speculative purposes.'

"Certain transactions are exempted in levying the tax, of which the following are the principal: (1) Inheritances, so far as this would cause double taxation owing to the inheritance-tax law; (2) changes in the tenure of real estate on account of marriage or in certain other family transactions; (3) the exchange of real estate to improve the shape of adjoining property."

In the discussion of the law it was frankly admitted by all parties that land values are created by the growth of the community rather than by any efforts of the individual. And representatives in the Reichstag of the empire, the individual states and cities, all emphasized the extent to which their constituencies increased land values. Each claimed a share of the

increment as its own creation. Under the final adjustment it was provided that 50 per cent. of the proceeds of the tax should go to the empire, 10 per cent. to the individual states, and 40 per cent. to the cities or local governments. In addition, cities were authorized to add an additional local tax (*zuschlag*) to that imposed under the imperial law. Thus considerable freedom was left to the cities, while at the same time the whole unearned increment tax was brought under imperial control.

The history of the unearned increment tax indicates the freedom with which German cities experiment; it indicates the liberty they enjoy at the hands of the state and the advantages that spring from a large number of experiment stations working on local problems in their own way rather than under hard and fast rules laid down by the state. Out of the Frankfort experiment the unearned increment tax spread to Great Britain, the Lloyd George budget of 1909 being in large part inspired by German experience. It has been adopted or is being officially considered in Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, and Belgium. Germany treats her cities as we do private business. We assume, without question, that the industrial progress of America is largely due to the freedom that private business enjoys, but we reverse this principle in municipal government and assume that the best results will follow from a rigid and inelastic control of the city by a distant legislat-

ure, ignorant of local needs, and quite generally prejudiced against the city.

The movement for the taxation of land values has spread to our own continent. In 1906 the city of Vancouver reduced taxes on houses and improvements by 50 per cent. The results which followed were so generally satisfactory that two years later the tax on improvements was reduced to 25 per cent. Finally, in 1910, the city abolished the taxation of houses, improvements, and personal property altogether. The result of the change was to greatly stimulate building operations, and to some extent to discourage land speculation. Idle holdings were broken up, and workingmen became home-owners. New capital came to Vancouver because investments in business and improvements were free from taxation. There was an increased demand for labor which increased wages and stimulated business.

Vancouver has grown with wonderful rapidity. Its prosperity is generally attributed in part at least to the exemption of capital and labor from taxation. Other cities in western Canada followed the example of Vancouver, until nearly all of the leading communities collect their local revenues from a single tax levied on land values. These cities are Edmonton, with a population of 30,000; Victoria, with 60,000; Westminster, with 15,000; Lethbridge, with 15,000; Prince Rupert, with 8,000; and Nanajino, with 6,000 people.

Land-value taxation has also made rapid progress in the Australian states. In 1896, New Zealand passed the "Rating on Unimproved Values Act," which is applied only to cities. The law is optional with each locality, its adoption being decided by referendum of the voters. Up to 1909, eighty local bodies had adopted the provisions of the act. A supplementary act was passed increasing the rate of the tax according to the size of the holdings. The purpose of these measures was to break up idle land holding by taxing it into use. The rate is only a penny in the pound, which is low in comparison with our rates, but the principle of taxing only land values has been established. In South Australia and Queensland similar laws have been enacted, in the latter country all local rates having been levied on land values since 1891. In New South Wales, which contains one-third of the population of Australia, the tax has been rapidly extended. In 1894 a tax of a penny on the pound was levied on land values. In 1905 local communities were required to levy the general rate on the unimproved value of the land, while further rating or taxing of land values was left optional with the shires or counties. Almost without exception, the one hundred and sixty-one municipalities have decided to collect their local rates from land values. Sydney levies an average of 3½ pence in the pound and other cities have raised the rate as high as 5 pence. As this method of assess-

ment can only be adopted with the approval of the voters, and as only real estate owners are permitted to vote on the question, this decision is obviously the reasoned conviction of the more conservative elements of the community that speculation rather than thrift should be taxed. In Sydney owners of improved property had their taxes decreased by from one-third to two-thirds, while owners of vacant land had their burdens increased from 200 to 500 per cent.

A parliamentary inquiry was made by Great Britain as to the effect of these new land taxes. The testimony of local officials was all to the same effect. The report said building had been stimulated by "rendering it unprofitable to hold land for prospective increment in value." The "effect on urban and suburban land has been very marked," it has "compelled owners either to build or to sell to those who would build." An "owner of land occupied by buildings of little value, finding that he has to pay the same rates and taxes as an owner having his land occupied by a valuable block of buildings, must see that his interests lie in putting his land to its best use." The rebuilding of Wellington, the report says, "is largely attributable to the taxation and rating of land values." The effect on rent is to bring it down rather than the reverse. "As the tax becomes heavier," the report continues, "it tends to bring into beneficial occupation land not put to its best

use, and so reduces rent, the improvements being entirely free from all rates and taxes."

The adoption of the single tax or its modification by lowering the rate on improvements and increasing it on land is comparatively easy in those states that separate the assessment of land and improvements as is done in Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, and elsewhere. In these States the growth in land values is easily ascertainable, and reports show that the increase in cities is colossal. New York and Boston have the most accurate statistics on this subject. In the former city the assessed valuation of improvements and land have been kept separate since 1903. They are published in the annual report of the commissioners of taxes and assessments. From these reports it appears that land values alone increased by $786,004,307 in four years' time, between 1904 and 1908, or at the rate of nearly $200,000,000 a year. Between 1908 and 1911, the increase in land values was $712,759,780, or $237,586,590 a year. The speculative increases in land values alone during these seven years was in excess of the total budget of the city, which amounts to approximately $180,000,000 a year.

The city of Cleveland made a re-appraisal of its property for the purposes of taxation in 1909. It was found that the land underlying the city had increased by $177,000,000 in ten years' time, or more than twice the amount collected for municipal taxes

during these years. Wherever investigations have been made it has been found that land values increase at a definite ratio to population, and that in growing cities the growth is in excess of the annual expenditures of the city. This increase is from 4 to 5 per cent. per annum, which is the normal growth in New York. Four per cent. is the estimated increase in German cities, where the subject has been more accurately studied than it has been with us.

And if we study population in relation to land values, we find that the latter amount to from $600 to $1,000 per capita, depending upon local conditions, or to from $3,000 to $5,000 per family. Land values reflect population. They reflect industrial prosperity, expenditures for improvements, for streets, for sewers, parks, and schools. They are increased by good transit, the extension of water, gas, and electric lighting facilities. Expenditures for these purposes add to the value of the land and of the land alone. They do not increase the value of the improvements, whose value is always the cost of reproduction. This is why land values are social values. They are not traceable to the industry of the owner or to any activity on his part. They spring from the close crowding of people, from the demand for building sites, from the improvements in the art of living, of production, of transportation. All these things contribute to the value of the land, and to no other form of wealth.

Land values are a natural source of taxation, growing with the growth of the community, and responding to the expenditures and improvements made by it. Year by year they increase with the coming of people and the advances of industry. And it is because land values are the creation of the community, that they should be taken by the community for community purposes.

CHAPTER XII

THE BUDGET OF THE GERMAN CITY

THREE things stand out prominently in the budget of the German city and distinguish it from our own. One is the size of the budget and the generosity with which cities spend for things which would hardly be expected in a country where substantial wealth is of very recent appearance and where the great mass of the people are still very poor. In the second place, despite the fact that the cities are governed by business men, the taxes are almost all assessed against income, property, or business. Thirdly, the budget of the German city includes many business undertakings that in this and other countries are left in private hands. The extent to which such activities figure is shown in the budget of Düsseldorf, as well as in the budget of Mannheim referred to later in this chapter. Cities generally make a charge for many services that in this country are rendered free. There are admission fees to the zoölogical and palm gardens, to the museums, baths, and concerts. The German city tries to make as many services self-supporting as possible, while many activities realize an increasing profit with which the burdens of taxation are being reduced.

Wide latitude is enjoyed by the city in the matter of taxation as in other things. There are no inflexible limitations on the tax rate or the indebtedness imposed by the state constitution or by law. The city is assumed to be the best judge of these matters, although the interior department maintains a watchful eye to see that well-recognized standards of efficiency and conduct are observed. But the city has considerable latitude to place its taxes where it wills, to shift them from incomes to real estate, to tax business, luxuries, and transfers of property as suits the judgment of the community. The laws of the several states also differ from one another, although a general uniformity prevails throughout the empire.

Real estate bears a very much lower rate than in this country. Up to very recently, under the system of assessment which prevailed, it bore an inconsiderable burden. Nor is the general property tax found in any state. It is unknown in Europe. Nowhere is it assumed that all property should be taxed at the same rate irrespective of its character. Personal property is not taxed at all, nor are stocks, bonds, mortgages, or intangible forms of wealth.

From one-fourth to one-half of the tax receipts come from the income tax, which is the central feature of the system just as the real-estate tax is with us. Real estate is taxed by three separate taxes, one levied at the time of sale at a certain percentage of the selling price; another tax is levied on the capital

or rental value of the property, while a third, or "unearned increment," tax is collected from the profits of speculation or the increasing value of land. Taxes on business yield a very substantial sum, as do licenses on the sale of beers and wines. Dogs are taxed, while the tickets or receipts of theatres, concerts, and places of amusement yield a considerable sum. The latter are in the nature of luxury taxes.

The income tax is a source of both state and municipal revenue. It is assessed against all incomes and at a progressive rate, incomes below approximately $225 a year being exempt. The municipal tax is in the nature of a surtax added to the state rate. For instance, if a city contributes $1,000,000 to the state from the income tax, and requires an equal sum for municipal purposes, the municipal income-tax rate is said to be 100 per cent.; *i. e.*, 100 per cent. of the state rate. The rate ranges from 100 to 200 per cent. in the larger towns. In some very poor municipalities, which contain but few rich men, the municipal rate may run as high as 500 per cent., or a total of from 12 to 15 per cent. on very large incomes for both state and local purposes. The income tax rate in Berlin is 100 per cent., in Nuremberg and Düsseldorf 140 per cent., and in Spandau 250 per cent. The state income-tax rate is moderate, beginning with 2½ per cent. on incomes of about $225 and increasing to 4 per cent. on incomes of $250,000. This would make the average rate for

state and city purposes from 5 to 12 per cent., depending on the size of the income.

Municipalities are permitted to levy up to 100 per cent. without notice by the state authorities, but if the rate exceeds this percentage, the central government reserves the right to participate in the administration of the city.

Berlin collected $8,227,148 from the income tax in 1907.

The second source of taxation is the *grundsteuer*, or real-estate tax. Real estate is assessed on both its capital and its rental value. Prior to 1893, the rent received by the owner was the basis of assessment rather than the selling value of the property. If land was used for agricultural purposes, when it was ripe for building, it was assessed on the rental secured as agricultural land rather than on its value for building purposes. In 1893 the interior department issued an order advising cities to adopt the capital value instead of the rent received as a basis of taxation, the value being ascertained by capitalizing the rental value of the property. The order was complied with by a great number of local authorities, and the taxes on real property were largely increased in consequence.

The tax on real estate in Berlin amounted to $5,523,000 in 1907, or about 4 per cent. of the sum realized by the city of New York from this source.

In addition to the tax on capital value, there is a

transfer tax assessed at the rate of 1 per cent. of the selling price of improved property, and of 2 per cent. of the selling price of unimproved property. This tax is levied at the time of sale.

A third source of taxation is the *gewerbesteuer*, or tax on trade and industry. It is assessed upon all persons engaged in trade or commerce according to the amount of capital invested and the net profits made the preceding year. All trades are taxable, but small concerns are usually exempt. Frankfort, for instance, exempts all industries where the net profits are less than $375 a year or where the capital employed is under $750. This tax is also progressive. Berlin collected $2,449,119 from this source in 1907.

Almost all cities collect taxes from restaurants, hotels, and places where intoxicating liquors are sold. The license tax, however, is nominal and is not designed as a sumptuary measure as in this country. The license is fixed by the profits of the business. In Berlin the license tax on the sale of liquor is but $2.38 where the profits are but $357, from which the rate progresses slightly, a restaurant that earns $11,900 a year being taxed only $23.80. The total revenues from liquor licenses in 1907, in Berlin, a city of over two million inhabitants, was but $760,927, or about what would be collected in a town of 60,000 inhabitants in America from the same source.

Department stores are taxed on a different scale than retail shops. There is a tax on pedlers and

transient dealers. Dogs are generally taxed, a substantial sum being realized from this source. In Frankfort $4 is paid for the first dog owned and $6 for the second.

There are also many fees in the nature of special assessments. There are drain dues for connecting a house with the sewers; dues for the removal of garbage and refuse at a certain percentage of the rent of the house, as well as special charges for the erection or alteration of buildings. The unearned-increment tax described elsewhere yields an increasing percentage of the municipal revenues.

Hamburg is a free and sovereign state in many of its functions. It is a city of 936,000 people and its revenues for the year 1908 were as follows:

Real-estate tax	$4,417,008
Income tax	9,331,143
Stamp revenue	710,683
Registration fees	133,447
Tonnage dues	779,013
Inheritance tax	1,082,474
Tax on sales of property	1,015,870
Amusement tax	18,874
Dog tax	74,190
Contributions for fire brigade	218,830
Customs (share of state refunded by Imperial government)	1,619,629
Share in federal receipts for distilling tax and imperial revenue tax	700,391
Total	$20,101,572

Earnings of business undertakings occupy a prominent place in the city budget. The receipts from public-utility corporations, from docks, markets, ab-

attoirs, forests, etc., are frequently many times the amount collected from taxation. The 1908 budget of the city of Mannheim, with a population of 192,000, shows the sum of $3,683,647 as derived from its many undertakings; while the direct taxes on incomes, real property, industrial capital, and business yielded but $1,553,440. The gross earnings of the more important industrial undertakings for the year 1908 were as follows:

Street railways	$627,488
Buildings	463,491
Agricultural land	18,207
Markets	27,650
Transportation of merchandise	128,392
Management of lands	32,403
Water-works	256,986
Gas-works	711,291
Electrical works	409,122
Abattoir	172,532
Fountains, etc.	12,993
Cemetery	37,502

The net gain from the street railways amounted to $44,942, from the water-works $123,021, from the gas-plant $165,641, and from the electrical light and power $127,366. These undertakings are operated only incidentally for profit, the motive of operation being the maximum of service at a relatively low charge. Out of a total budget of $5,237,086, all but $1,553,440 consisted of earnings of business undertakings and special fees for services performed. The tax upon incomes yielded $466,345, or about one-third of the total taxes; $475,976 was collected from

trade and business taxes, and $500,400 from the several taxes on real property.

The business men who rule the German cities have assumed the bulk of the burdens themselves. They have taxed incomes, business, land, and property, rather than tenants, as in Great Britain, or the consumer through the *octroi*, as in the Latin countries. Almost all of the local taxes are collected from the well-to-do classes rather than from the poor.

In the matter of local taxation, at least, the American city is far in advance of the cities of Europe, not excepting those of Germany. This is true in spite of the general property tax and the faulty assessments made by many of our cities. We collect our municipal revenues more justly than do other countries, because the bulk of them come from real estate and, by the nature of the case, from land. In recent years, too, great advance has been made in the art of assessing property for taxation, following the example of New York, in which city the assessment of real estate has been brought to a more nearly scientific basis than in any city in the world.

Land is the natural source of local revenues, for land values are so obviously a social rather than an individual product that they should be taken for municipal purposes. They are social in character. And undoubtedly our cities will collect an increasing share of their local revenues from land values, as is evidenced by the many movements for the re-

duction of the taxes on improvements, as well as their exemption from taxation altogether. In respect to the collection, if not the disbursement, of revenues, the American city leads Europe, as is shown by the tendency in Germany and England to increase the burdens of taxation on land values. That is the meaning of the change of basis of assessment from rental value to capital value in Germany; it is the meaning of the unearned-increment tax, or *wertzuwachssteuer*. It is this that has animated five hundred municipalities and local communities in England to demand from Parliament the right to rate land values and tax them for municipal purposes.

The indebtedness of many European cities is much in excess of the indebtedness of cities of the same size in America. This is not viewed with concern; it is rather a sign of intelligence and progressive administration. For in Germany and England the bulk of the indebtedness is for street railways, gas, electricity undertakings, for docks, harbors, slaughter-houses, and markets, which not only carry the interest charges but frequently yield a substantial income as well. The debt of Berlin amounts to $100,000,000, yet officials say that the sewage-disposal farms have so increased in value that they could be sold for sufficient to retire the whole municipal debt. In addition nearly $65,000,000 of the total is for business undertakings which carry themselves.

The average indebtedness of thirteen British cities with an average population in excess of 200,000 is over $100 per capita. In Germany the average is $85 per capita. Manchester has a per capita debt of $180 and Frankfort of $140. A considerable part of the Manchester debt was incurred in the building of the Manchester Ship Canal. The per capita debt of Munich is $125; of Düsseldorf, $130; and of Charlottenburg, $120. The average indebtedness of the American city is much less. The per capita debt of Chicago is very low. It is but $43.92. That of Cleveland is $69.29; of Detroit, $30.31; of Washington, $44.84; of Milwaukee, $32.47; of Philadelphia, $65.09; while that of Greater New York is $207.16. The debt of the latter city, however, includes subways, docks, ferries, water supply, and other investments of a valuable kind that support themselves in whole or in part out of earnings. These figures indicate the gross debt. The net debt is somewhat less.[1]

As indicating the extent of municipal indebtedness in Germany, as well as the large proportion incurred for productive undertakings, the following table of seven Prussian cities is instructive. The figures are for 1908, and the productive undertakings include street railways, gas, electric light, water, harbors, baths, etc. The "other purposes" are schools, streets, sewers, and all non-productive undertakings.

[1] Financial statistics of cities. Bureau of the Census. The figures are for 1909.

TOWN	POPULATION	TOTAL DEBT	FOR PRODUCTIVE UNDERTAKINGS	OTHER PURPOSES
Berlin.....	2,001,032	$99,254,000	$64,767,000	$34,512,000
Elberfeld...	168,000	13,595,000	7,252,000	6,392,600
Halle.....	176,798	9,500,000	2,877,000	4,612,000
Solingen...	50,961	3,285,000	2,257,000	1,029,000
Magdeburg.	247,358	15,005,000	7,775,000	7,503,900
Remscheid.	69,700	3,930,000	2,790,000	1,147,000
Düsseldorf.	284,439	28,585,000	22,260,000	6,327,000

A similar table of the indebtedness of seven American cities shows the amount as well as the distribution of indebtedness between productive and unproductive agencies.[1]

TOWN	POPULATION 1910	INDEBTEDNESS 1909	FOR PRODUCTIVE PURPOSES	FOR OTHER PURPOSES
Philadelphia..	1,526,383	$99,355,026	$30,776,642	$68,578,384
Cleveland....	538,374	37,304,908	5,613,684	31,691,224
Minneapolis..	294,330	14,927,202	1,933,424	12,993,778
Indianapolis..	228,690	4,790,401	22,000	4,768,401
Denver.....	207,112	5,814,419	329,200	5,485,219
Omaha.....	122,187	8,598,997	.....	.....
Grand Rapids	110,060	3,184,612	1,137,500	2,047,112

[1] Financial Statistics of Cities, 1909. Bureau of the Census.

CHAPTER XIII

HOW THE GERMAN CITY IS GOVERNED

The German city is governed by experts who devote their lives to this calling. Men prepare themselves for city administration as they do for law, medicine, or any other profession. They take special courses in the universities or technical schools in law, finance, engineering, town planning, education, or sanitation. On graduation they compete for a municipal post along with other candidates. Sometimes they enter the permanent service from the city council, or the state civil administration, or the profession of law. They rise from one position to another or pass from city to city, much as a clergyman or professor in this country moves from place to place. In time they hope to become burgomaster, and if they make a success in their city, their reputation is known all over Germany. This is true of the burgomaster, of members of the magistrat, or administrative council, and of the important permanent officials generally.

In this respect the city is but a cross-section of the nation at large, for public offices are almost always held by men who have prepared themselves for the

particular post to which they aspire. This is as true of the civil service as it is of the army and navy. The intense competition for place has something to do with this, as has the universal education of the empire. But aside from these influences, the traditions of Germany treat public service as a profession open only to those who are fitted for the particular work to be done.

The framework of municipal administration in Germany is essentially different from that of America or Great Britain. In America authority has been gradually concentrated in the mayor, as an easy means of escape from the evils of the council system. Through this device, as well as through the commission form of government, we have found a means by which we can hold some one responsible, and through responsibility substantial improvement has been secured. This and simplicity are the great gains from the federal plan and the commission form of government adopted by our cities so generally in recent years. In Great Britain, on the other hand, all the powers of the city are lodged in the council, which is a large body acting through committees. The mayor is an unsalaried figure-head, with but little power and that of a titular character. The British and American cities are antipodal in these respects.

The German city is governed by a composite system in which the burgomaster is the central figure,

although he is not the repository of as great legal power as are mayors in America. Associated with him are a large number of expert advisers, who form the magistrat. Approximately one-half of these are paid, and make a profession of their calling. The city council, or *gemeinderat,* is a large body, elected in Prussia under a restricted property qualification, and is generally made up of men of only less distinction than the magistrat itself. The German city is the most generously endowed political agency in the world so far as talent and training are concerned. Municipal administration is the work of the expert rather than of the politician.

In Prussia the burgomaster is chosen for a term of twelve years; in other states for nine or six years. In Leipsic, Dresden, Hanover, and some other places, the burgomaster is chosen for life in the first instance.

When a vacancy occurs in any city, the council examines the qualifications of candidates who are suggested or who offer themselves for the position. The available persons are finally reduced to two or three, from whom the choice is finally made. The same procedure is followed in the selection of members for the magistrat. Elections are made without regard to residence, and candidates for important positions present themselves from all over Germany. At the end of the term the council may refuse to re-elect an incumbent, but inasmuch as burgomasters are entitled to a pension if not re-elected, the choice

in the first instance is made with great care and is expected to be permanent. Burgomasters are elected by the council rather than by the people directly. So are all other higher administrative officials.

There are many burgomasters who have served from ten to twenty years in their respective cities. The burgomaster of Halle has been chief magistrate of that city since 1882. Dr. Martin Kirschner, until recently the chief burgomaster of Berlin, was first a judge, but in 1873 he entered municipal life as a town councillor in Breslau. Later he became the city's legal adviser, and in 1893 was called from Breslau to become one of the burgomasters of Berlin. Six years later he was elected chief burgomaster, which office he held until shortly before his death. Dr. George I. Bender, chief burgomaster of Breslau, entered municipal service through the law, much as did Doctor Kirschner. He became a magistrate in the city of Thorn, and in 1888 was elected burgomaster of that city. In 1891 he was chosen as chief burgomaster of Breslau and was elected a member of the Prussian House of Lords.

Doctor Adickes, the present burgomaster of Frankfort-on-the-Main, began his municipal career at the end of the Franco-Prussian War as burgomaster of Dortmund, where he served for four years. In 1877 he was chosen burgomaster of Altona, and in 1883 became its chief burgomaster. In 1891 the city of Frankfort-on-the-Main called him to be burgomaster,

which office he has held ever since. In addition to his municipal office, he is a member of the Prussian House of Lords. He has received many orders, including that of the Imperial Red Eagle.

Frankfort is a very wealthy city; it is rich in traditions, in old monuments, and Doctor Adickes awakened the ambitions of the citizens and proceeded to build a new city of splendid proportions about the old mediæval town, which for centuries was one of the free cities of the Hanseatic League. He used the city as a laboratory for experiments in taxation, in town-planning, in industrial, housing, and harbor developments. New municipal ideas have issued from Frankfort much as new discoveries in science issue from the university laboratory. When Doctor Adickes became burgomaster, in 1891, the population of the city was but 180,000. To-day it is 414,000. Much of the growth is due to the big-visioned administration of its burgomaster.

Düsseldorf is another example of the influence of the expert professional mayor. In 1898, when Düsseldorf was a town of less than 200,000 population, Dr. Wilhelm Marx was called to be its burgomaster. The city was not unlike a score of American cities fifteen years ago. It might have been as uninteresting and disorderly as any of our own. But Doctor Marx appreciated that his city could only successfully compete with its neighbors by having greater advantages than they. So he proceeded

to build a city that would attract business and people. Under his administration the municipal debt was increased to $100 per capita for the acquisition of the street railways, electric-lighting and other plants. The city engaged in the purchase of land; it became a land speculator on a large scale; it invested in the shares of Düsseldorf industries and entered on the greatest variety of industrial activities. A great harbor was constructed, suburbs were laid out, education was perfected, and the city made alluring to business and residents. In a dozen years Düsseldorf acquired the name of the garden-city of Germany. It now has 356,000 people. The German steel trust has made it its home, while many other industries came to it because of its advantages. Düsseldorf is a centre of art, music, and education; it is one of the show cities of Germany to which travellers come from all over Europe and America. What Düsseldorf has done, Detroit, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, almost any one of fifty American cities, could do were they but inspired by a vision of their possibilities and were our political institutions adjusted to the employment of permanent experts in city administration.

Having achieved these things, Doctor Marx retired from the mayoralty at the end of twelve years of service, and Doctor Oehler, of the near-by city of Crefeld, was chosen by the council to continue the

programme of city-building on which the city had entered.

There is keen rivalry among German cities. The struggle is for bank clearings, factories, and business growth, just as it is with us; only these ends are attained by different means. Cities vie with each other in the promotion of the arts, beauty, and comfort. They develop opportunities for factories, perfect their educational systems, and improve their facilities for water and rail transportation. The professional burgomaster has much to do with this. He wants to make a showing, to achieve a reputation which will lead to his being called to some other city.

The German burgomaster corresponds roughly to the American mayor, although his legal powers are not nearly as ample as those of the American city operating under the federal plan. In practice his influence is likely to be as great as his abilities. If he is a man of force and originality he becomes the directing spirit in the administration. He presides over the magistrat, promotes city policies, oversees other departments, and is the official representative of the municipality on all state occasions. He may suspend and punish officials who have been remiss in their duties, but his power to discharge is subject to review by the administrative courts, to which an appeal may be taken by the discharged official. He is also directly responsible for the police administra-

tion, over which the state maintains a watchful supervision. In the larger Prussian cities, however, the state may appoint a police commissioner responsible to it directly.

The burgomaster has no veto over ordinances and may be overruled by the magistrat. He neither prepares the budget nor introduces it. That is done by his associates. Nor has he the large appointing power lodged with mayors in this country. In a legal sense he is but the first among equals.

Some cities have two burgomasters, in which case the senior one is called the chief burgomaster. In some of the larger cities he is known as the oberburgomaster, but this title is only permissible when authorized by law.

In a sense the King is the fountain-head of municipal administration, for while the council selects the burgomaster, its choice must be ratified by the King acting through the interior department. Such approval is usually given as a matter of course. Some years ago, however, when the council of Berlin selected a burgomaster who was *persona non grata* to the King, the action of the council was disapproved. The council reaffirmed its selection, but the King refused to rescind his veto. For some time the city was without a burgomaster, but finally the council receded from its position and selected a candidate who received the royal approval. Similar conflicts have occurred in some of the smaller

cities where the radicals have selected candidates representative of their opinions. It is not improbable that the royal veto will be called into play more frequently in the future, especially in those states where the Prussian three-class system of voting does not prevail, while if manhood suffrage is introduced into Prussia the same conflict is likely to arise in that state as well. In Bavaria, where the Prussian system of voting does not prevail, members of the Socialist party are already found in the magistrat, and many of the cities are likely to fall into the hands of this party. This will probably not involve any change in the character or integrity of the men or the efficiency of administration, for many of the leading municipal experts in Germany are Socialists, actively connected with the party, but identified with the municipal movement.

The salaries paid the burgomasters are higher than the salaries of mayors in this country, even aside from the greater purchasing power of money. Berlin and Frankfort-on-the-Main pay their oberburgomasters $9,000 a year, while Leipsic, Cologne, and Magdeburg pay $6,250 a year. Dresden and Munich pay $5,000, and Hanover $4,250. In the smaller municipalities salaries are correspondingly lower. In addition the burgomaster receives a number of substantial perquisites which may amount to several thousand dollars a year more. He is entitled to a pension of from one-half to three-fourths of his sal-

ary on retirement from office, depending upon the length of his service.

To be burgomaster of a German city is one of the most alluring of professions. Not only is the office highly paid, but the city is the largest single corporation in the community. It conducts a multitude of undertakings and has a large budget to control. In salary, in social position, in power and opportunity, as well as in permanency of tenure, Germany has provided a system that attracts men of talent and ability to city administration.

Associated with the burgomaster are a number of assistants, who form the magistrat, or stadtrat. Their duties are primarily administrative, although they both initiate and influence legislation. They form the executive branch of city government and constitute an upper chamber, which meets apart from the council but is fused with the elective body in actual practice. For there is no superstition in Germany about the necessity of separating powers and responsibilities between legislative and executive branches. There are no checks and balances in city administration. These are political fictions which have never had any place outside of America. The aim is rather to merge administration and legislation as closely as possible in the interests of efficiency.

The magistrat is a body of experts, who, like the mayor, make a profession of city administration.

The members are chosen from men who have achieved distinction in the council, in the state civil service, or who enter it after special training for some department. Each member is an expert in his line of service, and is chosen for some definite position. This, at least, is true for the salaried members. There are experts in law, in finance, accounting, education, engineering, charity, housing, and town planning. With the burgomaster, who is an expert in chief, they form an executive council, each member of which is trained in his department and thoroughly familiar with what is being done in other cities of the country.

A great business corporation is not more efficiently organized than is the German city, and few business corporations, whether in this country or abroad, are as wisely and economically managed. There is no waste, no need of efficiency surveys by private agencies. The city itself is equipped with men whose life is dedicated to their work, and whose hopes, ambitions, and social standing are satisfied with the opportunities which city administration offers.

The magistrat contains from one-fourth to one-third as many members as does the council, by which it is chosen. Approximately one-half of the members are salaried, the other half are not. The number of paid members is determined by the council itself, and usually depends upon the size of the city and the activities in which it is engaged. Berlin, with a population of 2,099,000, has 17 paid and

as many more unpaid members of this body. Magdeburg, with a population of 240,633, has 12 paid and 15 unpaid officials, while Breslau, with a population of 510,939, has 14 paid and 15 unpaid officials. There are 14 paid and 18 unpaid members of the magistrat in Dresden, 12 paid and 15 unpaid in Leipsic, 16 paid and 20 unpaid in Munich, and 9 paid and 8 unpaid in Frankfort-on-the-Main. Like the burgomaster, the names of the paid members of the magistrat must be submitted to the central authorities for approval.

The number of unpaid members is fixed by law and depends upon the size of the city. Municipalities with from 10,000 to 30,000 people have 6 unpaid members; those with from 60,000 to 100,000 have 10 unpaid magistrates, with 2 additional ones for every 50,000 people. The unsalaried members are usually chosen from the council, much as are the aldermen in Great Britain, although they may be chosen from outside its membership. The unpaid members are almost all men of comparative leisure, and are held in high esteem in the community. Their places are practically permanent. The paid and unpaid members sit together in the same body much as do the aldermen and councillors in Great Britain.

It is amazing how generously the German city makes provision for administrative officials. While New York has a board of estimate and apportionment of but eight members, and while most of our

large cities have from four to six salaried heads of departments, the German city of equal size has from two to three times as many salaried members in its magistrat. In addition there are as many more non-salaried ones. Many of our cities are undermanned; they are unable to handle the many big problems which confront them, not only because of the lack of experience of officials, but because of the inadequate number provided for.

The salaried members are usually chosen for the same term as the burgomaster, but the unsalaried ones are selected for six years, the same as members of the council. The former are chosen by competition, and re-election generally follows as a matter of course. They give their entire time to city administration and receive salaries which are relatively high. In Berlin, for instance, salaries range from $2,500 to $3,000 a year, while in the other large cities they run from $1,200 to $3,000. There are other perquisites attached to the office, as well as a pension on retirement, and a high social position in the community. The unpaid members are chosen because of known ability demonstrated in the city council, in public service, or in private pursuits.

Each of the salaried members is assigned a particular department which he supervises. The departments correspond roughly with our own. One member, the *Kammerer*, occupies the post of city chamberlain or auditor. Another, the *Syndikus*, is

at the head of the legal department. A third, the *Schulrat*, has control of education. A fourth, the *Baurat*, has charge of the public works. Other specialists are assigned to charity administration, hospitals, and institutions for the relief of the poor, while still others have charge of the street railways, gas, electric lighting, and other profit-making utilities.

When a vacancy occurs in a given post the council frequently advertises the fact, and invites competition to fill it. It is not uncommon to see advertisements in a German newspaper like the following taken from the *Gemeinde Zeitung* of July 28, 1906.

"NOTICE

"The post of *Syndikus* in the Magistrat of this city has become vacant. The stipend is 6,000 marks per year with an increase of 600 marks every three years until the maximum of 9,000 marks is reached. The appointment is for life; and provision is made for a pension on retirement after long service, as well as for the granting of an annuity to the widow or orphans of a deceased incumbent of the post. The *Syndikus* is expected to preside in the Industrial and Mercantile Court (Gewerbe und Kaufmannsgericht), and is intrusted with a general supervision over the legal affairs of the city. Candidates who have passed their second legal examination and who have had successful administrative experience are requested to submit applications accompanied by testimonials and other suitable documents to the city clerk before August 20.

"FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN,
"*July* 17, 1906. THE MAGISTRAT."

Candidates send in their names and references, from which the council selects the candidate best qualified for the post, which selection is then reported to the central authorities for approval. Unsalaried members of the magistrat frequently aspire to become salaried officials, while persons in private employment or those occupying a post in some other city also respond to the inquiry. Every consideration is ignored save the qualifications of the candidate for the place. Neither politics, friendship, nor personal consideration have weight in the selection, although Socialists would probably not be accepted in Prussia. They are, however, frequently found on the magistrat of the Bavarian cities, where the Prussian limitations on the suffrage do not prevail.

The unpaid members of the magistrat are advisers in general on municipal problems. They are not chosen for special posts, as are the paid members, or because of any especial training in particular branches of administration. There are no qualifications prescribed by law for their selection save that they must be residents of the city. The council, however, usually chooses them from out its own members or from successful business and professional men with recognized aptitude for the work. The standard of qualification is very high, and service upon the magistrat involves heavy inroads upon a man's time. In spite of this fact, cities fill these positions with men of high character and attainments. For official life has

a lure in Germany of which we have no conception. Caste runs throughout the nation and affects the ambitions of all. At the top is the junker, or large landed estate owner. Below him is the military caste, whose officers are almost exclusively recruited from the landed classes. To the professional men and merchants municipal office is almost the only avenue of official distinction. Wealth as such carries little standing, much less than in America or in England. Everywhere the official class is the ruling class, and every title of distinction, no matter how insignificant, is jealously guarded by its possessor, whose rank and position are scrupulously observed in official and social relations.

One explanation of the size and importance of the magistrat is the fact that the city is the agent of the state in the administration of many laws relating to education, sanitation, insurance, and the administration of industrial functions. The municipality has jurisdiction over the property of the state church. It appoints the clergymen and church officials. In this it differs radically from the American city, which rarely performs any state functions.

Members of the magistrat initiate much of the legislation which comes before the council. They do this sometimes at the request of members of the council, but more frequently on their own initiative. Ordinances adopted by the council must have the

approval of the magistrat, much as legislation in Congress must be passed by both houses. The council is the agency of the public intrusted with the promotion of policies, while the magistrat is the administrative department, serving both the state and the municipality, and promoting in every possible way the advancement of the community. Rarely is there any conflict between the council and the magistrat, for spoils, opportunities for political preferment, and the privileged interests have little influence in city politics, while anything which savors of dishonesty is practically unknown.

The magistrat is free from supervision by the council in executive matters, except where the expenditure of money is involved. It has control of the public utility enterprises of the city. It builds and cleans the streets, controls the schools, parks, and housing. It is the educational agency of the city, for education is merged with city administration in Germany as it is in England, rather than being a detached, separate activity. In all of these departments the magistrat acts with wide freedom, for not only is the city free to do as it wills, but the magistrat is rarely interfered with, either by the state authorities or the town council.

No moneys can be paid out of the treasury without its approval. It controls the collection and disbursement of revenues. It has no power to levy any taxes or to make general appropriations, but aside

from this it administers the budget of the city. Members of the magistrat rather than the burgomaster make appointments for office, but these appointments must be confirmed by the council. The magistrat meets as a separate body, and is presided over by the burgomaster. Its meetings are not held in public. No announcement is made of a vote or division on a question, so that whatever action the magistrat takes has the appearance of unanimity.

In practice the magistrat combines many of the powers which we intrust to the council, mayor, and heads of the various departments. Long tenure of office, recognized efficiency, and the absence of political controversies and spoils make jurisdictional quarrels with the council infrequent, in spite of the fact that the magistrat is selected by the latter body. Made up of men with the greatest variety of training, and aided by the interior department of the state, with its accumulated experience and statistical information, it forms probably the most efficient administrative agency in the world.

It need hardly be said that there is no spoils system in Germany. Nor is there any rotation in office, either among the elective or the appointed employees. Even among unskilled workmen tenure is during good behavior. This is part of the traditions of Germany, in which country men in all walks of life choose their callings early and thus establish their status. And municipal service, from the most sub-

ordinate position to the highest, is a recognized career the same as any of the professions.

While the burgomaster and the magistrat form the central feature of administration, the city council or *stadtverordnete* or *gemeinderat* is the final source of power. It is a representative body elected by wards or districts the same as in the United States and Great Britain. Councilmen are elected for six years, and one-third of the membership retires every two years. None of the councilmen are elected at large. In Berlin, under the Prussian system of three-class voting, there are 16 districts assigned to voters of the first class, 16 to voters of the second, and 48 to voters of the third class. The first and second class districts elect a councillor every two years, while each of the 48 districts in the third class elects a councillor every six years. In Bavaria, councilmen are elected for nine years, one-third of the body retiring every three years, while in Saxony the three-year term prevails.

Many electoral provisions militate against the free expression of the popular will. There are no nominations of candidates by primaries, caucuses, or conventions. Any qualified person can be voted for, but in practice candidates are selected beforehand, and are well known as such. Prior to the election there are canvassing and meetings in the support of candidates, but so far as the action of the voter is concerned he is left entirely unaided by parties or

by ballots in the making of his choice, for there are no printed ballots. Candidates must receive a clear majority of the votes cast, and if this is not secured at the first election, a second is held. Only the two candidates who have received the largest number of votes are eligible at the second election.

The council is a relatively large body. In Berlin it numbers 144 members; in Karlsruhe and Mannheim, 96; in Dresden, 78; in Leipsic, 72; and in Munich, 60. The size of the council is fixed by law according to population. In Prussia there is a minimum of twelve councilmen in the smaller municipalities. The council is a much larger body than it is in America, but is about the same size as in England. All over Europe the large council prevails, and everywhere the organization is substantially the same. There is no parallel to the commission form of government which is rapidly being adopted in the American West or to the federal plan, such as has been generally adopted by our larger Eastern cities.

A high order of ability is found in the council, for the talent of the community seems to be at the service of the city, and business and professional men deem it a high honor to be elected to that body. In university cities, members of the faculty are frequently chosen. Members of the council receive no salary, and there is no chance for pecuniary emolument of any kind. Service is obligatory, for a man

can be fined if he refuses to accept an election—a contingency, however, that rarely, if ever, happens.

The work of a councillor is very exacting. He has to devote a considerable part of his time to city business. The council usually meets once a week except during the summer months. Discussion is spirited, and where Socialists have found a place in the council, it covers the whole range of municipal policy. The burgomaster and members of the magistrat have a seat in the council chamber with the right to speak on all questions but not to vote. They may be interrogated by members on public questions. Much of the work of the council is prepared for it by members of the magistrat. The procedure differs from that of the British council, where each committee controls its own department, selects its managers and subordinates, and combines legislative and administrative work in the same body. In this respect the German council is more like the American one. With us, legislative as well as administrative work has been assumed by the mayor and the directors of the various departments, who prepare the budget, formulate policies, and draft most of the ordinances for consideration by the council. This transfer of legislative power to the executive department is frequently at variance with the theory of our charters, which assume the separation of legislative and administrative functions under the practice which prevails in the state and Federal governments.

While the magistrat is the actual directing agency of the German city, the council is by no means an unimportant factor in administration. It has not lost its dignity or authority, as has the council in America. It selects the burgomaster and the members of the magistrat. It advises with the magistrat and sometimes comes in conflict with it. Every legislative measure which affects the municipality must be passed by it. In case of a deadlock with the magistrat, differences are adjusted by a joint conference committee, and if this fails the appropriation or question in dispute is referred to the central administrative authorities for decision.

The laws of the several states—Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemburg, and some of the cities, like Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort—differ as to the size of the council and the magistrat, as to the length of terms and qualifications of the suffrage, but in the main the cities are administered under the same general plan. And this plan has remained practically unchanged for more than a century. The laws governing municipal administration are based on the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg enacted in 1808, which reforms gave the cities large freedom of action and established the machinery upon which subsequent legislation has been based. Just as the main features of the British system are traceable to the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, so in Germany the small town has grown into the metropolis under

charters provided before the industrial city made its appearance. While reformers in America have devoted themselves to changing the form of the charter, to finding new political machinery for doing things, the German and British cities have accepted administrative forms a century old, and concerned themselves with the functions and possibilities of the city, rather than with finding new ways to govern them. In both countries there have been many changes in the substantive law; the powers of the cities have been enlarged and the laws have been codified, but the cities have moved on from one activity to another with little complaint as to the agencies employed. In this they differ radically from the cities of this country, where reform has been concerned more largely with method than achievement.

It is not probable that we shall adopt either the German or the British system of administration, although we shall undoubtedly develop means for securing permanence and the trained expert in office. This is already being done indirectly through the establishment of efficiency and research bureaus in connection with many cities. The commission form of government makes for permanence in personnel, while the suggestion has been made in some cities for the employment of a city manager, to whom the actual administration is to be transferred under the direction of the council. It is only a matter of time

before our cities will find means for identifying training and experience with administration. In this, as in many other problems, our cities are working out a solution in their own way and without being conscious of the fact that it is being done.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BUSINESS MEN WHO RULE THE GERMAN CITY, AND THEIR IDEALS

The German city is democratic, even socialistic, in its services, but not in its political machinery. The American city, on the other hand, is democratic in its machinery and professions, but not in its services. Yet the cities of Germany and America are in reality ruled by the same class, by the influential business men. In Prussia the control is direct and official. It is legalized by a system of voting. In America, on the other hand, control is secured indirectly through the ascendency of private interests in the state legislature, city council, and party machinery, as well as through the agencies of public opinion, which for the most part are owned or controlled by the privileged classes which stand behind the boss, the party, and the machine. The business men who rule the German city are not the small shopkeepers as in Great Britain; they are the bankers, merchants, real-estate speculators, and professional men. They form the ruling class. They elect the council, which in turn elects the burgomaster and members of the magistrat.

In Prussia this control by the well-to-do classes is

secured by the laws which control the suffrage of that state. While manhood suffrage prevails in elections to the Reichstag, it does not prevail in the Prussian Diet or in the cities of the state. Through the methods of voting the large taxpayers select the majority of the council. The power of the voter at the ballot-box is determined by the amount of his income tax. Taxpayers are divided into three classes, each one of which elects one-third of the council. The classification for voting is as follows: beginning with the highest single taxpayer, men are checked off in order until one-third of the total taxes is ascertained. The taxpayers in this group constitute the first class, and elect one-third of the council. Then those whose aggregate taxes comprise another third of the total are checked off, and they constitute the second group. The great mass of the electors, whose aggregate income taxes comprise another third of the total, make up the third class. This, in substance, is the law governing the suffrage in Prussia, although in 1900 the method of procedure was changed somewhat, and made rather more complicated.

Under this arrangement an insignificant number of persons elect one-third of the city council, while a small minority elects two-thirds of it. The first class rarely consists of more than 3 per cent. of the total number of voters, while the first and second classes combined range from 10 to 20 per cent. of the total. In Essen, where the Frederick Krupp Steel Works

are located, there were in 1900 only 3 electors in the first class, with 401 in the second. These 3 men elected one-third of the council, while 404 out of nearly 20,000 electors chose two-thirds of the members. In Halle, there were 178 voters in the first class, and in Aachen, 130. In Berlin, in 1903 there were 1,857 electors in the first class, and 29,711 in the second; 31,568 electors out of a total of 349,105 chose two-thirds of the council. In Breslau, with a voting population of 26,211, there were 669 in the first class and 4,358 in the second. In Cologne there were 511 in the first class and 5,659 in the second. The total number of voters in the third class in Breslau was 21,184, and in Cologne, 41,321. From these figures it appears that a very much smaller percentage of the population votes than in America, for in our cities of the size of Cologne or Breslau, the total number of votes cast would run from 70,000 to 100,000.

The example of Berlin indicates the limitations on the suffrage, and the way the great mass of the people are denied any hope of control. The registered electors for the year 1909 numbered 351,000. For every elector in the first class there were 21 electors in the second, and 214 in the third. In the city council of Berlin there are 144 seats, one-third of which, or 48, are apportioned to each class. As a result, 34 electors on an average select a councilman in the first class, and 721 electors select a councilman in the third class.

This is the Prussian three-class system, against which the Socialists and radicals are protesting. It applies to state as well as to municipal elections. When the imperial constitution was adopted in 1871, Prussia, which is the dominant power in the empire, based its suffrage on the wealth and income of the taxpayer. It is this system of voting that lies at the heart of reaction in Germany. It is this that gives the large land-owners of east Prussia control of the state and the wealthy business men control of the city. It is this that prevents the Socialists from securing control of the towns, in which they are particularly strong, for nearly every large city sends Socialist members to the Reichstag, for which body the suffrage requirements are on the democratic basis of one man, one vote. In imperial elections the suffrage is universal, as it is in America.

In addition to these inequalities in the suffrage other limitations are imposed on the selection of members of the council, which tend to make it still further conservative. In Prussia the suffrage is confined to male citizens of twenty-four years of age who have paid municipal taxes, who own a dwelling-house or pursue a trade or profession which yields an income. Even some corporations are allowed to vote. In addition the ballot is open rather than secret, while a considerable period of residence is required in the city. The laboring classes are still further excluded by the requirement that one-half of the

members of the council must be owners of real estate—a limitation which tends to make the landowners and real-estate speculators unduly prominent in city affairs.

The three-class system of voting does not exist in Bavaria or in a number of smaller states. Proportional representation was introduced into Bavaria in 1906. Under it members of the city council are chosen by political parties in proportion to their voting strength. The suffrage is still not universal, but is much more nearly so than in Prussia. In Munich, the capital of Bavaria, one must live in the city for two years, have an income of $300, and have paid $37.50, for admission to the rights of suffrage. In Munich there are now fifteen Socialists in the city council, while four members of the magistrat belong to this party. In Hamburg, which is a free city, and in Frankfort the suffrage is on a somewhat different basis, as it is in many of the smaller states of the empire. Prussia, however, contains most of the large cities.

There is relatively little politics as we understand it in city elections. The system of voting and the selection of members of the council by wards preclude it. Nor is there much controversy over the policies to be pursued or the programme to be followed. The permanent magistrat and its willingness to engage in any kind of activity for the welfare of the community preclude such controversies.

The Socialists, it is true, have a definite municipal programme and would carry municipal socialism much further than any of the cities have done. And in order to promote their programme they conduct aggressive municipal campaigns. In Bavaria they will probably control the councils of many cities and attempt to carry their programme into execution.

Despite the political power of the business men, they do not legislate in the interest of their class, as they do in America. That is one of the anomalies of Germany, for I know of no other country in the world in which this is true. Political power is almost always used to promote the economic interests of the class which rules. Men seem unable to detach their public from their private interests when elevated to places of trust. They still vote as railway and franchise owners, as manufacturers and land speculators. The German junker, who controls the politics of Prussia, and through Prussia the politics of the empire, almost always votes as a junker. He represents his class. And the tariff laws of Germany, as well as measures affecting the internal administration, reflect the economic interests of the landed aristocracy. The same is true of the landed class of Great Britain. It is true of the business men in the American Congress, in the legislatures of our States, and in the administration of our cities. But the business men who rule the German cities seem to have risen above

the interests of their class. They have built cities for people, for all the people. They have administered them for business, but for all business rather than for that of a limited class. They have controlled the factory and the mill-owner and compelled them to locate in certain limited districts. They have taken the street railways, gas, electric-lighting, and water companies away from other business men. They have erected docks and harbors to encourage competition rather than monopoly. Pawn-shops, savings and mortgage banks, have been municipalized in the interests of the working-classes, while municipal houses have been erected in competition with private landlords to improve the housing conditions of the city. Business men approve of municipal land speculation schemes as a means of keeping down the price of private speculators. But, more remarkable still, they have shifted the burdens of taxation from the poor onto their own shoulders. They have taxed their incomes heavily, have taxed business and luxuries, and imposed the unearned increment tax on the profits of land-owners. From one-third to one-half of the revenue of the German city comes from income taxes, while the bulk of it is derived from wealth in some form or other. Moreover, income taxes are progressive, and bear most heavily on those best able to pay.

The complaint is frequently heard that real-estate interests and house-owners' organizations control city

administrations; that many projects for the welfare of the poorer class are defeated because of the opposition of the property-owning classes which control the suffrage. The Prussian law provides that one-half of the council must be owners of real property, while the suffrage itself gives the large taxpayers a predominant influence in elections. Real-estate interests have undoubtedly defeated transportation proposals designed to open up the suburbs; they have prevented the laying out of new territory and the natural expansion of the city; they have prevented the increase of taxes on real estate. The imperial unearned increment tax of 1911 was seriously weakened by the amendments which the real-estate interests secured during the consideration of the measure in the Reichstag. Some housing experts explain the universal prevalence of the tenement and apartment house, in which the great mass of the people dwell, as a result of real-estate interests and house-owners' associations, which have prevented city-widening proposals in order to maintain city rents and urban land values. It is claimed that the extension of suburban transit in Berlin has been checked by these same interests, while the complaint is also heard that the suburban planning projects are delayed in execution or confined to sections available only for the well-to-do classes by the same unconscious class instinct. Undoubtedly these class interests do influence city administrations, but this

is the most serious charge I ever heard against the administration of the German city.

Aside from this charge the German city is honestly administered. Scandals are of such rare occurrence as to be almost unknown, as is bribery or corruption. The councils attract men of integrity and ability. The best citizens are willing to accept election, no matter what the claims of their private affairs may be. Public place carries with it social prestige. The King has encouraged public service in the military and civil departments, and the rank which a man and his family take is in large part determined by official precedence. In addition, municipal administration is alluring, even in the council. It offers opportunities for men of talent. One's associates are agreeable and intelligent, while many distinctions and social opportunities are opened through it.

CHAPTER XV

THE EXPLANATION OF THE GERMAN CITY

Why is the German city so efficient, honest, and business-like in its administration? What lies back of the pride of the business men? Why do they serve so willingly on the council? Why do they accept such burdensome income, land, and business taxes, and submit to the control of their business and their freedom with so little organized protest?

I have asked these questions of many business men. I have tried to understand the German city. It is not long experience in city administration, for the industrial city is of even more recent appearance in Germany than in America or England. Its life covers but a generation. There were no great cities prior to 1870, long after the British city had risen to importance, long after the American city had begun to be a problem.

Nor is it traceable to the ascendency of the business men at the polls or the limitations on the suffrage, for the attitude of the business men is the attitude of all classes. The Socialist party, which would control many of the cities under universal suffrage, is as free, probably more free, from interested mo-

tives than the other classes. It sends many eminent men to the Reichstag, and is essentially a party of principles. And it has a well-defined and very advanced municipal programme. Universal suffrage, on which they insist, would probably not change the character of municipal administration or the quality of the men in the permanent service. It would undoubtedly affect the policies of cities, and still further widen their activities.

The explanation of the German city lies deeper than these things. It is found, I think, in the psychology of the people, and that psychology, in turn, is traceable to home rule, to the freedom of the city to do as it wills in almost all matters which affect its life. Of all the causes I think this is the most important, for each city has liberty of action to work out its own destiny. Without this freedom the city might have been honest and efficient. It never could have become the model of the world.

For the German city is free, free to own almost anything, free to control the individual and his property, free to borrow, free to experiment, free to develop as it wills. Its bonds to the state rest so lightly that it is almost unconscious of its chains. The citizen is a subject of the city, just as he is a subject of the state and the empire. And his devotion to his city is very much like his devotion to the fatherland.

Under the laws of the state the German city can

do anything it is not expressly forbidden to do, or that the central administrative authorities do not forbid. Generally speaking, it can do anything an individual can do. Under the municipal act of 1853 local authorities have authority to perform any functions that are necessary or wise for the welfare of the municipality, provided only that these activities do not come in conflict with the laws of the state. Dr. Albert Shaw says: "There are, in the German conception of city government, no limits whatever to municipal functions. It is the business of the municipality to promote in every feasible way its own welfare and the welfare of its citizens." [1]

The powers of the city are not specifically enumerated, as they are with us. The city is assumed to have all the power necessary for its local life. This, roughly, is its status under the laws of Prussia and the other states in the empire. For the laws which govern the cities are enacted by the individual states, as they are with us, and not by the empire.

This is where the German city differs most radically from our own. For the American municipality enjoys only such authority as is specifically granted to it. Its powers are set forth with the utmost particularity. There are few presumptions in the city's favor; it has few implied powers. It has none of the liberty of a private corporation or of an individual. It can only act as it is told to act. And the courts

[1] *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, p. 323.

interpret the things it can do and the way they must be done, with the presumption against the city rather than in its favor.

The American city is in bondage to a higher authority, to which it must constantly go for relief. In many instances it cannot control its own employees or change their salaries. It can only enter on the smallest undertaking after it has secured permission from a reluctant legislature. It cannot regulate the public service corporations that lie so close to its life; and, generally speaking, it can own only water and electric-lighting undertakings. It cannot secure better street-car service, extensions to new territory, or a change in the lighting power of gas or the charges for any of these services. The tenements and the slums are almost immune from the city's control, as are the height, style, and character of buildings. The city cannot borrow as it wills, for its borrowing capacity is limited by law, and is usually below what is needed to keep pace with its growing necessities. Nor can it collect revenues beyond a certain limit or experiment with taxation. The American city lives within the most carefully prescribed rubrics, designed not to promote efficiency, but to protect property. The powers it enjoys lag many years behind the needs of the day, and are only enlarged after exhausting contests before the legislature or too late for the prevention of abuses that can only be corrected at colossal cost. Privileged interests, political bosses,

and suspicious farmers have been engaged for a generation in welding chains about our cities, until they have become our most helpless and inelastic political agencies.

The denial of home rule is one of the many anomalies of our politics. In a country where all the assumptions are of democracy local self-government in important things is almost non-existent. Constitutions, charters, and judicial decisions have so cribbed, cabined, and confined the American city that the wonder is that it has done as well as it has.

Monarchical Germany reverses this principle. It assumes as a matter of course that the city should be as powerful as a private individual, certainly as powerful as a private corporation. And the things forbidden are relatively few. The city has wide latitude in the ways it can raise its revenues. It can adopt the business, license, or real-estate taxes, and fix the rates that shall be paid. There is no legal limit to the tax rate, although the interior department reserves the right to participate in the administration if the income tax exceeds a certain figure. Nor are there any limits on the amount of money that can be borrowed or the purposes for which it can be used. And the debts of German cities are frequently many times those of an American city of the same size. The city engages in land speculation for profit; it owns farms and forests, docks and harbors, savings-banks, mortgage institutions, and pawn-

shops. It loans money for house-building, erects houses for its working-people, owns opera-houses, theatres, and exposition buildings, and operates wine-handling businesses for profit. It controls the land speculator and plans his land for him; it determines the purposes for which the land shall be used before it is sold. It determines the height to which men can build, the amount of land that can be covered by improvements, and the distance houses shall be located from the street. In some sections villas only may be erected, in others apartment-houses, in others workingmen's cottages. The city prescribes where factories shall go; it prevents smoke and noise, and by direct or indirect action controls the style of architecture that may be employed. The power of the German city over property is as far-reaching as its power over persons.

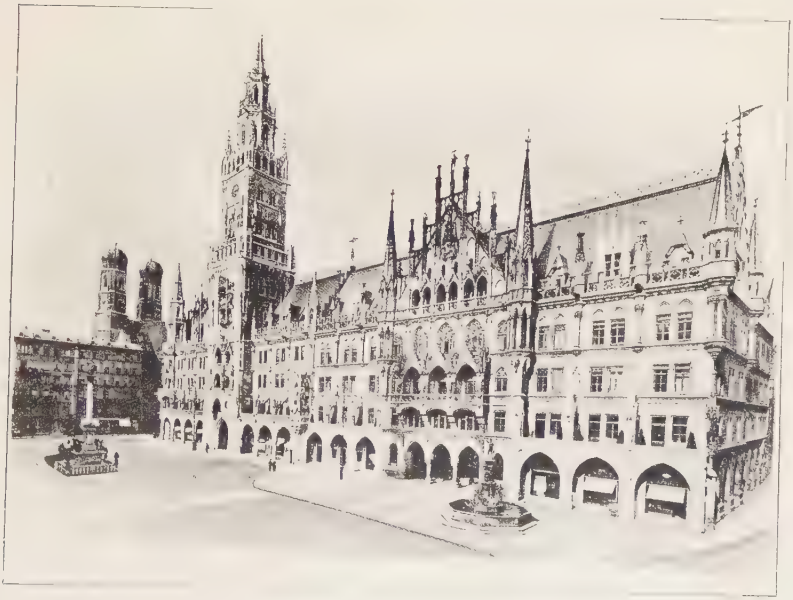
The German city has more than home rule. It is almost a little republic, like the *freistädte* of the middle ages, which owed allegiance to no one. Cities are, however, subject to administrative supervision by the interior department. New undertakings must be sanctioned by the central authorities, which may disapprove of them if they seem too great a departure from municipal experience. Bond issues must also be approved. The interior department oversees the enforcement of certain laws which relate to purely state policies, such as the maintenance of the minimum educational standard of the state.

Below this the city must not fall, although it may extend its educational system indefinitely beyond the minimum. The interior department is also an advisory agency. It sets standards, collects statistics, and encourages projects of importance to the nation or the community. It is a bureau of municipal research. Its function is one of encouragement and direction, rather than repression. The German city is subject to administrative rather than legislative control by the state.

Under this arrangement great elasticity is secured. There is local freedom, subject to the possibility of veto by the state. Every city can develop as suits its particular local needs or ambitions. It must live up to a certain standard, but beyond this it can go as far as it likes, and as long as the central authority does not intervene. This procedure has great advantages. It makes each community an experiment station. Most of the municipal achievements of Germany have been first worked out by one city, and when success has been assured the idea has been copied by others.

Freedom, too, has had an inspiriting effect on the people. It has created a love and pride in the city that is not found in England, France, or America. And such pride cannot arise without freedom. Men cannot be aroused to interest in a movement which they cannot achieve or in which they do not directly participate. It is impossible to awaken enthusiasm

New City Hall, Dresden.



New Gothic City Hall, Munich.

City halls in Germany are of great splendor. They are used for a variety of public purposes and usually contain rathskellers in the basement.

for a project that involves first a change in the Constitution, then a change in the State laws, then the assent of the local authorities. It is hard to become interested in a cause when the fruits of victory may be taken away by the courts or the next session of the legislature. We have violated all social psychology—violated it so completely that the wonder is we have any city spirit left.

Wherever the city has been free—free to govern itself as it willed, to build, to realize the ambitions of men—there local love and patriotism have flowered. There, too, civilization has reached a high development, for the civilization of every age has been a city civilization.

The Greek cities had such freedom. Each city was a little republic. The individual was almost lost in the community. Athens, Corinth, Syracuse, were the centres of art, culture, and the drama. There was no conflict between public and private rights, for private rights were not recognized when in conflict with public needs. The city built temples, rather than homes. Rich citizens adorned the city with expressions of their patriotism. Leisure was provided for, as were education, the drama, and the arts. The Greek city was free to change its form of government. It could collect its revenues as it willed. It was free to spend them as the ambition of the community decreed. For the city was also the state.

Rome, too, was a city republic. All Italy was tributary to the city, rather than the reverse. Here, too, civilization flourished again. And in Rome, as in Greece, the ambitions of men found expression in temples, gardens, public baths, amphitheatres, and other monuments of public character.

Florence, Genoa, Venice, Padua, the cities of mediæval Italy, were also free. They had no distant overlord. In these cities civilization awakened again after slumbering for centuries. They gave birth to the greatest art the world had known since Athens. They recalled the learning of the past, and produced painters, architects, and men of learning whose work has enriched subsequent generations. In these cities the rich merchants vied with one another not only for power, but for the beautification of their cities. They, too, were free to give expression to their ambitions without the supervision of constitutions, laws, or the authority of a jealous overlord.

The mediæval cities of Germany and the Netherlands were free cities. Frankfort, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Nuremberg, Brussels, Bruges, Ghent—in these cities commerce came to life. The burghers cast off the chains of the dark ages. They bought or fought for their freedom from the baron on whose territory the cities came into existence. And freedom produced the splendid halls which still adorn these cities. The guilds erected palaces which still remain in Brussels, Bremen, and Frankfort. For

three hundred years these free cities kept alive the liberty of Europe and enabled men to acquire wealth and learning, to engage in trade and commerce, to lay the foundations for present-day civilization.

Again in the twentieth century the German city recalls the ideals of earlier centuries. Even the almost disfranchised workingmen have a city sense. Certainly the business men, who in this country are either indifferent to the city or are actively at war against it, are very proud of their cities. They are interested in the big things the city is doing—in the schools and hospitals, in the parks and public gardens, in the business activities of the city, in its health, its comfort, its beauty. To the promotion of these things men contribute of their wealth. They do not give to charity, to the endowment of hospitals or universities; rather their gifts are for gardens, public places, the building of schools, or for work of a constructive character.

It is difficult to know how far this city sense extends; as to how universally it is felt by the working classes who participate so little in the actual control of the city. There may be great numbers who care little for the city, for large numbers do not vote, for one reason or another. And the attitude of mind of rich cities like Düsseldorf and Frankfort is undoubtedly different from cities like Essen, Barmen, and Elberfeld. Among the classes accessible to the traveller, however, there is a wide-spread affection for

the city that does not seem to exist anywhere else on the continent.

There are still other explanations of the German city—explanations that are traceable to the traditions of the country, of a feudal society in which the individual was subordinate to the state. From these traditions Germany has never been emancipated. Up to forty years ago the population was almost wholly agricultural. The change to industry was sudden and abrupt. The factory appeared almost a hundred years after it came to England. The commercial classes have never been powerful enough to control politics, as in America; nor have they united with the landed aristocracy, as in Great Britain. And the traditions of feudalism still affect all classes; they mould the prejudices and the philosophy of the state.

One of these traditions is the dignity of the state. Germany has never known that license of business that exists in America, a license that has moulded politics, the press, and public opinion to its will. The ruling political class in the empire is still the landed aristocracy, an aristocracy almost as feudal as it was at the end of the eighteenth century. And the junker is jealous of the commercial classes, fast rising to power. But while the junker rules Prussia and looks out for his landed interests, he has no city possessions to protect as in England. The ruling aristocracy do not own the franchise corporations, the

docks, the markets, or city land; nor do they own the railroads, the express and the telegraph companies. These industries are the property of the individual states, and have been for three-quarters of a century.

Having no privileges to protect, the ruling aristocracy in the state gave the cities freedom, the right to own things, to control property. There is no conflict between their economic interests and their patriotism as there is in Great Britain and America. This in part explains why the cities have been given such unlimited freedom in local administration.

In addition, the idea of public ownership is old in Germany. It is part of the traditions of the country. All of the German states are great land-owners, while cities own forests and agricultural land. The states own coal-mines, the railways, telegraph and telephone systems. As a consequence of these traditions every one in Germany accepts the idea of public ownership as the most natural thing in the world. The universities reflect this attitude of mind, for political economy was not influenced by the individualism of Adam Smith, Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill as it was in England and America. There is no presumption against the state or the city, no assumption that what the community does will be badly done, and that only through enlightened selfishness will the social welfare be best advanced.

German cities, too, are very old, older than the

cities of England. Berlin was the capital city of the Hohenzollerns. Dresden, Munich, Mannheim, and Karlsruhe were capital cities. There are numerous other *hauptstädte* and seats of bishoprics. Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfort, and Lübeck were free cities, with traditions of a highly organized industrial life running back into the fourteenth century. All these cities retain many monuments of their early life. They are embellished with palaces, museums, art galleries, and hofgartens. Rulers vied with one another to promote the arts and to beautify their capitals. The cities of Germany were old before the industrial revolution burst on the world.

In America we have no such traditions, no such monuments. Our only memories are those of shops and factories, repeating themselves like the rings of a growing tree about the centre. Our ideals are formed by the men who built the railroads, mills, and factories. Only recently have we begun to think in other terms than those of private business.

To these traditions must be added the determination of Germany to become a world power. To this end much of the best thought of the empire is dedicated. In this programme the city plays a prominent part, as does science. The university prepares men not only for private but for public professions as well. There are courses in law, political science, municipal administration, and town planning. Men are trained to be burgomasters as they are to be law-

yers. The universities and their laboratories are at the command of the city as they are of the state. Science is close linked with politics. And nowhere is the intimacy closer than in the study of the problems of the city.

In this imperial programme of industrial eminence the city is recognized as an agency for its promotion. The health of the people is endangered by industry. They must be protected, educated, trained to be good workmen as well as good soldiers. The city can promote trade or retard it, it can stimulate industry by offering facilities for transit by rail and by water, or it can strangle industry by leaving these agencies in monopoly hands. The city is also recognized as a means for bettering the conditions of life and for the promotion of comfort, convenience, and happiness.

These are some of the influences that lie back of the German city. They explain the attitude of mind of the voter, of the burgomaster and the councilmen. They explain the mind of the artisan and the business man as well.

There are other forces at work which profoundly affect the psychology of the German city, forces which are intimately related to the honesty, efficiency, and public spirit of official and citizen. The most important of these is the bigness of the city, its attitude toward itself, toward the activities it should assume and the things it should do. The German

city is the most important corporation in the community. Its budget is larger than that of any private corporation. The budget of the city of Düsseldorf in 1909 (population 325,000) was $28,642,070, of Cologne (population 467,653), $42,297,000. This is many times the budget of an American city of the same size. These expenditures include all of the activities of the city, the street railways, gas, water, and electric-lighting enterprises, the land owned by it, the docks, markets, banks, and other undertakings. The actual receipts from taxation of Düsseldorf were but $2,856,600, and of Cologne but $4,810,000, or in the neighborhood of $10 per capita. The business undertakings of the city are nearly ten times as important as the activities maintained through taxation. The great part of the city budget relates to business pure and simple.

And these activities link the city with the lives of the people. They touch them in a multitude of ways. The police, health, and sanitary departments are vigilant and efficient. Education is in close touch with the home. The workman goes to the city pawnshop to make a loan and to the city savings-bank to deposit his wages. If he desires to own a home he borrows from the city mortgage bank or invests in one of the co-operative building associations with which the city is identified. When sick he goes to a city physician, a city hospital, sanatorium, or convalescent home. His insurance against old age, sick-

ness, invalidity, or accident is partly managed by the city. The city also offers him many means of recreation. He bathes in the municipal bath-houses along the river or in the splendid public baths about the town. In the evenings he goes to the *Tonhalle*, to the palm gardens, or to the exposition hall, where he hears the best of music for an insignificant sum. He spends his Sundays and holidays in the zoölogical gardens or tramps with his family through the great woods about the city. The parks and water-ways offer clean, healthful amusement at no cost at all or at a small charge. Art galleries and museums, streets and palaces, opera-houses and theatres all relieve the tedium of life of rich and poor, and all are supplied by the community itself. Germany realizes that the leisure time of the people must be provided for and cannot with safety be left wholly to private hands.

There is a necessary psychological reaction from this policy, a reaction on all classes. The attitude of the citizen is largely traceable to the attitude of the city toward the citizen. The city is the most important thing in his life. It touches him in countless ways. Life is a social rather than an individualistic thing. Men come to think in community terms, for their life is circumscribed by community agencies. Every activity is related to something the city does; every desire is in some way influenced by the city's services. The *hausfrau* thinks in terms of the city that guards her children, that ministers

to their health and happiness. Her recreations and her market-baskets are supplied by it. The city is so important it cannot be neglected; it cannot be ignored.

This, too, explains why men are willing to enter the city council; it explains why they aspire to make administration a profession. It explains, too, the expert who has become a necessity. Business men are eager to serve on a board of directors which deals with millions. They desire to be identified with the biggest thing in the community. There is honor in being part of an enterprise of such proportions and with such possibilities of service, and just as men in this country seek places on the board of directors of a bank or a street railway, in Germany and Great Britain the alluring posts are in public administration. The council is the most important directorate in the city, while the magistrat is an executive committee far more alluring than that of a transcontinental railroad.

In addition, public ownership of the public service corporations puts an end to the conflict between public and private interest. Business and professional men can enter the council, for there are no franchises worth millions owned by themselves or their friends to be protected. There are no special privileges which ramify into the banks and trust companies, the press and the clubs, into all the professional classes, as do the privileges of the street railways,

gas, water, and electric-lighting companies in this country. I have no doubt but that the city council in America would command the best talent of the city were our politics free from the conflict of interest which makes the men of wealth and power fear better government. For our business men accept place on library and education boards, on the boards of trustees of hospitals, chambers of commerce, and other public and semi-public agencies, where there is no conflict between their patriotism and their purse. But such men dare not accept nomination to the city council. Nor would the voter trust them. The private ownership of public service corporations has created a condition that divorces the talent of the community from politics. Philadelphia, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Denver, Cleveland, Detroit, Toledo, all tell the same story of the class conflict which was precipitated by the attempt of the city to regulate these interests or even secure proper limitations on the renewal of a franchise. The business and professional classes were arrayed against the city in its efforts. So were the banks and the press. The city was deprived of its talented men at a time when they were most needed. The class which owned, and the class identified with the class which owned, do not dare enter municipal politics because of this conflict, a conflict which does not exist in either the German or the British city.

Home rule has enabled the German city to build

as it willed. This has given variety to the city. It has awakened local love. The traditions of German life, the long, uninterrupted history of the city, its traditions of beauty and order, the universal efficiency of the empire—these, with the big-visioned services which the city renders, explain its honesty, its efficiency, its eminent success. And it is the absence of these elements, rather than the inherent dishonesty or incapacity for self-government of our own people, that explains our failures. For we have created a condition that makes honesty and efficiency almost impossible.

CHAPTER XVI

IMPRESSIONS OF THE BRITISH CITY

If you come in contact with the mind of the man behind the ballot in the British city, you meet a very different mind from that of the man behind the ballot in the German city. It is a very different mind from that of the man behind the ballot in America. And it is the mind of the man behind the ballot in every country that makes the city what it is.

I first came in contact with the men who rule the British city in a social club in Glasgow, in many ways the most aggressively efficient city in Great Britain. I lunched with a group of merchants, shippers, lawyers, and business men. It was such a group as one would meet in a club in any large American city. All of the men enjoyed local eminence. And each of them, I afterward learned, was connected with the government of Glasgow, or of one of the surrounding communities. And for several hours these Scotch business men talked city politics in a language with which I was not familiar.

The previous day had been an annual clearing-house day in the council. Several committees had given an accounting of their work. They had sub-

mitted a statement of earnings and expenditures, of assets and liabilities. And these business men were talking of their community's balance-sheet. They discussed the municipal tramways, the earnings for the last year, the surplus carried to depreciation and reserve, and the contributions to be used for city purposes. There was an obvious pride in the fine showing of the committees, a pride in the rapid debt reduction and the efficiency of the lines.

The following day I read the report of the tramway committee, and it justified the pride of these business men as did the gas, electric-light, and water committee reports which had been made the same day. I accompanied the lord provost and members of the council on a tour of inspection of the many activities of the city. It was an annual survey of the city at work. We drove to the municipal lodging-house designed to afford a home for widows and widowers with children. It is provided with kindergartens and crèches in which the young children are left when the parent goes out to work. We visited the slum-clearance enterprise and municipal dwellings erected on the site of one of the most disease-breeding spots in Great Britain. For the tenements of Glasgow are terrible. The wretchedness of the poor is only surpassed by the east-end Whitechapel districts of London. It is stated that 50.6 per cent. of the population of all Scotland lives in two-room cottages, or apartments, and conditions in

the towns are, of course, much worse. We visited the central fire-department station and saw the firemen at work in the shops building and repairing fire engines, wagons, and equipment. For the firemen of Glasgow are artisans as well. They perform a double duty. During their leisure hours they build and maintain the fire apparatus for the city. We passed numerous bowling greens as smooth as a billiard table, where workingmen spend the long summer evenings at the favorite Scotch play of bowls. The inspection closed with a banquet at the city hall at which the chairmen of the various committees discussed the achievements of their departments during the past year and their hopes for the future. There was no suggestion of partisan politics, no talk of personal advantages or spoils. There was something akin to religious enthusiasm for Glasgow.

I met the same municipal mind in the restaurants, about the hotels, on top of the double-decker tramcars. Almost always the talk drifted around to the council, to Glasgow, to the tramways, gas and electric undertakings, to the art gallery, the parks, public lectures, or the playgrounds. I found even the workingmen knew about the budget; they were familiar with the life of the lord provost as well as the personal characteristics of councilmen. They knew how much was spent on wines and luncheons by a committee, and there was some protest against the wine bill, which is one of the little extravagances

that arouse much talk at elections and in the radical press.

And always and everywhere the talk turned to the rates (taxes). They were too high, all agreed. Every voter is a taxpayer, and he pays his taxes directly as a tenant. He knew to a penny what the city cost him. For local taxes in Great Britain are paid by the tenant rather than by the owner.

The population of Glasgow is 1,150,000. The city is terribly congested. Attempts have been made to distribute population out into the countryside by the building of new municipal tram lines which were operated at a loss. Immediately suburban land-owners increased the price of their holdings, so that it was impossible for the poorer classes to take advantage of the transportation facilities constructed for their relief. This aroused the municipal authorities to the necessity of controlling the land speculator. If every effort to improve the condition of the people only resulted in an increase in the value of land, there was no way out of the housing problem. This led to the organization of a movement for the taxation of land values to check speculation. The council made an appropriation of $15,000 to promote bills in Parliament to permit cities to tax land values for local purposes. More than 500 communities were organized into a league to further the measure, for other cities had been thwarted in their efforts to improve housing conditions by the same causes. For years

the league has besieged Parliament to permit cities to levy taxes on the capital value of land by the same methods employed in America, but thus far the landowners in Parliament have prevented any legislation on the subject.

Glasgow is radical. Yet the council of Glasgow is made up of business men, many of them eminent business men. There is a sprinkling of Socialists in the council who are constantly in controversy with the conservative members over the management of municipal undertakings. These labor members, like the business men, give generously of their time to the city, and with no other remuneration than the satisfaction which comes from the service.

And the men in the council reflect the point of view of the men in the club, in the restaurant, on the street. I doubt if any elective bodies in the world more accurately mirror the opinions of those whom they represent than do the councilmen of British cities. They are a cross-section of their constituents. They have to be. If they depart from the Scotch standards of thrift in their opinions or votes they are sure to be challenged at the next election, when they will be heckled on the platform by their neighbors and opponents. For heckling is a fine art in Glasgow. Through it new ideas are promoted, and candidates for municipal and parliamentary office are pledged to definite issues. The taxation of land values was promoted by these means, as

was municipal ownership. And any proposal which increases the burden of local taxation is sure to arouse opposition and frequently to invite defeat. Some years ago one of Glasgow's most eminent business men, Sir Samuel Chisholm, who had been identified with the city administration for years, was defeated for re-election because of his advocacy of a badly needed health and slum clearance project. It involved an increase in taxation for which his constituents were not ready to stand in spite of the eminent services he had rendered to the community. In addition he was an outspoken advocate of temperance reform. This, too, contributed to his defeat. But nothing, unless it be dishonesty, is more hazardous to a municipal career than a proposal which promises to increase the burden of local taxes. This is the nerve centre of every British citizen.

In Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, people talked about the same things. They seemed to understand municipal politics and issues. And always the rates and taxes, municipal ownership, the taxation of land values, or some other economic question entered into the controversy. Nowhere was there a suggestion of dishonesty. Everywhere there was an alert citizenship that looked upon the council chamber as of far more interest than Westminster. Everywhere men seemed to feel it was a high honor to serve in the council, an honor to which business men very generally aspired.

I attended a banquet of municipal officials in Manchester and sat next to the chairman of the water committee. He had been on the council for thirty years and had just been knighted by the King in recognition of his services. Great Britain does not pay her elective city officials; she holds out what is far more desired by them than money, and that is knighthood or a baronetcy for distinguished action. This is the goal of the business man who has made his leisure secure. For this he will serve for a lifetime. For it he gives generously to his political party, to charity, or to some public cause.

Sir Bosdin Leech seemed far prouder of the chairmanship of the water committee than he did of his business success. He had seen the department develop, had watched its earnings grow, and its financial stability become assured. He was prouder of his work for the water supply of his city than a railway president, and talked about it with the enthusiasm of a parent for his child.

Asked by an American guest as to how it was possible for busy men to give so generously of their time, he replied that he did not know what inspired it, but "he could assure the inquirer that no man who entered the city council ever made a penny out of it. If any man were found using the corporation as a vehicle for his own enrichment he would be drummed out of the city."

I visited the Manchester ship canal in company

with municipal officials. It is partly a public, partly a private undertaking, the city having subscribed for a large part of the securities. Manchester is an inland town lying 35 miles to the east of Liverpool. It suffered from discriminatory freight rates on the railways and was at a disadvantage in competition with the seaboard towns. The canal is 35 miles in length and has cost more than $75,000,000. It was eleven years between the passage of a bill in Parliament in 1883 and the opening of the canal for traffic in 1894. Deep cuts had to be made, some of them for miles through rock from 50 to 60 feet in depth. There is a difference of level of over 60 feet in the 35 miles of canal-way. Five huge locks capable of accommodating great ocean steamers had to be constructed, while the Bridgewater Canal is carried over the ship canal far above grade, the section which crosses the ship canal being so arranged that it can be swung completely around to permit the passage of ships while filled with water. The harbor itself is of immense proportions, and is surrounded with warehouses, grain elevators, sheds, and railway tracks connected with hydraulic and electrical cranes for the transshipment of freight. The canal company controls the railway sidings and performs a lighterage business in order that costs may be kept at a minimum and the harbor be operated as a unit. The harbor water-ways cover 104 acres and the quays 152 acres. There are five and a half miles of dock

frontage in all. For years the canal failed to meet interest charges on its obligations, but recently it has begun to pay. It saved Manchester from decline and made it one of the great ports of the world. It is a monument to courageous municipal spirit.

The chairman of the Manchester tramways committee, who spoke at the banquet, talked of the municipal street railways as though they were the most important thing in England. He was proud of the cars, which are models of beauty and comfort. They are as clean as they can be kept and are almost noiseless in operation. There was no sign of overcrowding even during rush hours. Manchester thinks too highly of its people, of its factory women and girls, of its clerks and workingmen to permit them to be herded into inadequate cars for the sake of profits. There are no strap-hangers. The transportation system is designed to serve the people the same as the schools and parks. They are the best that the ingenuity of the council and the tramway manager can devise.

There is no deficit to be made up at the end of the year by reason of this "seat for a fare" policy. Manchester has done what the private street railways in America say cannot possibly be done, and has done it as a matter of course. In 1911 the tramways paid all operating expenses, interest on the investment, sinking-fund charges, and even taxes, and in addition turned over to the city treasury the sum of

$375,000 with which to reduce taxes. This was in a city of 900,000 people and with an average rate of fare of a trifle over two cents. In addition, there was a saving of several millions of dollars a year in car fares to passengers as compared with what would have been collected by a private company in America.

Manchester sells gas from its own works for forty-eight cents a cubic foot. The price is even lower for fuel purposes. The city encourages the use of gas among the poor by the introduction of penny-in-the-slot machines attached to the meters. It lights its alleys and slums generously as a means of checking vice and crime. It is a common saying in England that a lamp-post is as good as a policeman.

Even at the rates charged, the gas plant earned $325,000 for the reduction of taxes after meeting all operating and fixed charges. And the chairman of the gas committee seemed to reflect the attitude of the officials of the city when he said that "public men in England had been taught from the cradle to do their utmost to promote the happiness and welfare of their fellow-citizens. It was a more serviceable honor," he said, "to be a member of a city council than of Parliament."

There is a dignity about a title or an office in England, even though it be an obscure one, that does not prevail in this country. The sons of the aristocracy serve in the army, the church, or the state. Success-

ful barristers aspire to Parliament. Members of the county families serve as magistrates in the county courts, while in the cities the tradesmen seek place on the council as an avenue for the expression of the same spirit of public service. There is a passion for public place in England among the highest and the lowest.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain began his remarkable career, which led him almost to the premiership of the empire, as a member of the town council of Birmingham. He was a wealthy manufacturer, and for many years was connected with the council, and later was mayor of the town. He is almost the only British mayor who achieved distinction as a positive force in municipal affairs, for usually the British mayor is but the presiding officer of the council, enjoying for a brief term the honor of being the first citizen of the community. Rarely does he actively engage in the promotion of a programme or in the carrying forward of a policy.

Birmingham was redeemed from the almost universal ugliness of the British city by a great slum clearance and rebuilding scheme which Mr. Chamberlain promoted during his incumbency as mayor. In the heart of the city was a blighted area, the centre of disease and vice. In 1875 the city acquired forty-five acres of slum land which included this area. One-fourth of the land so acquired was opened up as business streets, of which Corporation

Street is the most commanding. The remainder of the land was laid out in building sites, which were leased for long terms with provision for the periodical reappraisal of the rental value.

The municipality became a landlord on its own account, and is now reaping dividends on its investment. For the improvement has paid for itself in several ways. The total taxes collected from the slum area in 1875 were but $52,563. In 1909 the taxes on the same property increased to $220,443, or a gain of $167,880 a year, or 300 per cent. The carrying charges for interest and sinking-fund amount to $111,929 a year, or only two-thirds of the increase in taxes alone. Within a few years' time the annual debt charges on the improvement will be reduced to $97,330, and will ultimately disappear altogether, when the sinking-fund accumulations have repaid the loan.

But this was not the only financial gain. The land has greatly increased in value, and when the present leases expire the land, together with all the improvements, will revert to the city without cost. When this occurs, the revenues from the undertaking will amount to $485,650 a year. All this is in addition to the saving in health, as well as the great improvement in the appearance of the city, which has been transformed by the splendid streets and the rebuilding of the business district.

The British city is honestly administered. Of that

there is no question. Public opinion does not tolerate the placing of friend or political supporter in public office as a reward for political service. There are no spoils and no suggestion of graft.

There is, however, something very like graft that goes almost unchallenged in the British city. It is the influence of privileged classes in the council. I once heard the question of municipal honesty raised by an American visitor at Liverpool in conference with a group of city officials. The American asked: "Is there no graft in connection with municipal ownership, no corruption incident to the many undertakings which the city carries on?"

"No, there is no corruption in the British city," the official replied, "it does not exist. Liverpool is honestly administered in the interests of the people."

"But," the inquirer continued: "are there no business interests, no land speculators, no privileged classes, that in some indirect way control the council or influence its actions? Is the British city free from this sort of influence also?"

An elderly alderman who had taken no part in the conversation interposed and said: "Liverpool owns the street railway, the electric-lighting and water plants. It does not own the gas plant, although proposals have been made to buy it. There has been some complaint that too many stockholders of the gas company find their way into the council, and are active in the protection of their private interests.

If that is what you mean by indirect influence, there has been some of it in Liverpool."

I heard this complaint in a number of cities that do not own the gas or electric-lighting plants. The companies send their directors or stockholders to the council, where they use their influence to prevent the purchase of the plant or to secure liberal valuations when it is acquired by the city. Where private ownership prevails, companies are active in politics, as they are with us, but in a less aggressive way. There is no criminal wrong-doing. And the English people, with their veneration for men who have achieved distinction, find it difficult to suspect a prominent citizen of wrong-doing in such a matter. His advice is assumed to be only the wisdom of greater experience.

Liverpool, like most British cities, is badly congested. The tenement districts are old, unsanitary, and involve a fearful cost in disease and death. But the city boldly undertook a number of slum-clearance projects at a total cost of $2,000,000. It tore down great areas of tenement land; the streets were widened, and 2,000 individual cottages erected to take the place of those destroyed.

Citizens vie with officials in Liverpool in claiming that their tram ways are the most up-to-date in Great Britain. Whatever merit there may be in the claim—a common one, by the way, heard all over Great Britain—the tram ways are wonderfully effi-

cient and comfortable, and are an ornament to the streets. The cars are fresh with paint, the employees are courteous, and the public is proud of the financial balance-sheet. There is no overcrowding at any time during the day. A great workshop is operated by the city where cars, motors, and machinery are both built and repaired. There is a spirit of enthusiastic rivalry to make the service the best that can be offered. Municipal ownership, far from deadening initiative, seems to have given it the fullest opportunity to express itself. This is true all over England, as it is in Germany.

The manager of the tram ways invented a plough life-guard which has been copied by other municipal tram ways. It consists of a diamond-shaped guard made of lumber which runs so close to the tracks that any one thrown down is pushed off to the side by the fender. He cannot get under the wheels. In consequence, fatal accidents are reduced to the vanishing-point. Experiments were also made by the city with cars of every variety to find the one that was most popular, that would provide the most seats, and carry the greatest number of passengers with the maximum comfort and the minimum cost. The trams committee purchased cars in America, Germany, and Belgium, and tried them out exhaustively to ascertain the type of car most wanted by the community. Finally, the double-decker type was adopted. It has so many advantages one finds it difficult to under-

stand why it is not introduced in America. The enclosed stairs have been found to be perfectly safe. The upper decks of the cars can be used in any kind of weather. In addition, statistical studies show that these cars can be loaded and unloaded as quickly as the single-deck cars universally used in this country, while double the number of passengers are comfortably carried. In addition, they are so pleasant that they greatly stimulate traffic.

Many other improvements have been worked out in Liverpool which, so far as the public is concerned, are far in advance of the private lines in America. The cars are cleaned every night, as are the trucks. The signs upon the cars give the routes and destination in detail. Stopping-places are marked by conspicuous signs. On the narrow streets the span-wires are carried from rosettes on the buildings, rather than from poles. Employees are picked after the most careful examination; they prize their jobs, and are courteous and considerate to passengers. There are no strap-hangers at any time, for the double-decker car offers more than twice as many seats as the average American single-deck car.

Across the river Mersey, from Liverpool, lies the village of Port Sunlight, one of the first garden-cities of Great Britain. It is a proprietary village of the Lever Brothers, soap manufacturers. The garden suburb is the most-talked-of municipal topic in Great Britain, and along with town planning has appropri-

ated the municipal thought of the nation. It seems to mark an era in the whole city movement, and to offer a solution of the housing problem. In 1898 a book appeared entitled "Garden Cities of To-morrow," written by Ebenezer Howard, which proposed the building of model villages on cheap land, planned in detail in advance of their building. Several years passed before the book was taken seriously, but during the last few years thirty or forty suburbs or independent communities have been erected along the line laid down by the author; while the idea has been enthusiastically adopted by housing reformers in Germany, France, and the Continent generally.

Port Sunlight was one of the earliest of the self-contained garden-villages. It differs from Letchworth, Hampstead, and most of the subsequent undertakings in being a proprietary village, much as is Gary, Indiana, built by the steel trust. Fifty-six acres of land were first purchased, about five miles from the centre of Birkenhead, of which 32 acres were set aside for village uses and 24 acres for the factories. The original area has since been increased, until it now includes 230 acres, of which 90 are occupied by the works, and 140 by the village proper.

The planning of the village was placed in the hands of an expert. The roadways are curved and skirt the ravines, which were dedicated to park purposes. The village now contains about three thousand people, all of whom are housed in detached or semi-

detached cottages erected by the company. There is great diversity of style, but perfect harmony in the whole. Almost every village need has been provided for. There are a church, a wonderful art-gallery, and a library. There are a gymnasium and club-houses, with an auditorium, swimming and other baths, tennis and cricket fields, and opportunities for out-of-door sports. In all of the garden-villages the greatest thought has been given to the leisure life of the people, and the most generous provision has been made for play spaces, in winter as well as in summer, for adults as well as for children.

The cottages are surrounded with hedges, and the front gardens are kept up by the company itself, which makes a charge of six cents a week for the care of each cottage garden. The roadways are bordered with parkage, trees, and gardens, as are the open spaces.

From a financial point of view the rents do not maintain the village, partly because of the large outlay in the building and maintenance of the community institutions, such as the institute college, gymnasiums, baths, and so forth. The total investment approximates $2,500,000, upon which the company receives no interest, the rents being only sufficient to maintain the cottages and keep them in repair. The loss of interest to the company is about $170,000, which the company treats as a contribution to efficiency. The owners claim that the improved

PORT SUNLIGHT, GARDEN CITY.
Type of residence street on which traffic is discouraged.

health of the employees, due to better homes and open-air life, yields a return in the increased output of the factories that reimburses it for the loss on the investment. In this respect Port Sunlight differs from the other garden-cities, like Hampstead and Letchworth, which are organized on a commercial basis and yield a return on the investment, the same as any other commercial enterprise.

Sir William H. Lever, one of the proprietors, insists, as a matter of principle, "that every diligent employee has a moral and indisputable right to live in a decent home, to possess the opportunity to bring up his children in decent environments, to enjoy the best possible facilities for the development of his own, his wife's, and children's faculties, so as to make them healthy and strong and long-lived. Business, he says, cannot be carried on by physically deficient employees, any more than war can be successfully waged by physically deficient soldiers. Business efficiency therefore demands better housing conditions for employees, apart from the principle of the employees' own unquestionable right to the same."

The houses at Port Sunlight are in striking contrast to the slum districts of the near-by cities of Liverpool and Birkenhead. And the improvement in the appearance of the working-people and the children on the streets is a demonstration of the terrible cost of bad housing to the life and morals of a people. Careful statistical investigation showed

that the height of Port Sunlight school-children at fourteen years of age was 62.2 inches, while those in the public schools of Liverpool ranged from 55.2 inches to 61.7 inches. The weight of the same children in Port Sunlight was 108 pounds, as compared with 71.1 to 94.5 pounds in the public schools of the near-by cities. The statistics of the death-rate are quite as eloquent. In the average industrial cities in England it ranges from 14 to 19 per thousand, while in Port Sunlight it ranged during seven years from 5.55 to 12.87 per thousand.

The garden-city is England's greatest contribution to the housing problem. After a generation of fruitless effort to relieve urban congestion by regulation and the construction of municipal tenements, the garden-city has awakened the enthusiasm of housing reformers not only in Great Britain, but on the continent of Europe as well. A proprietary garden-village has been built at Bourneville, near Birmingham, while within the past ten years 30 or 40 other garden communities have been started. The best-known are those of Letchworth and Hampstead. The former has grown, in seven years' time, from 400 to 7,000 population. It is located 34 miles to the north of London, and is planned upon a large estate, purchased for the purpose, of 3,818 acres. It was laid off like an old English village, with the retail shops confined to certain streets near the station. The factory sites are by the railway track, away

from the residence areas, which are planned for workingmen or retired well-to-do people. Streets are of the greatest variety, as is the architecture. Restrictions limit the height of all buildings as well as the distance from the street. There is generous provision for athletic sports. A community club-house has been erected, as well as institutes and public schools. Land speculation has been eliminated by a provision in the by-laws of the company, under which earnings on the capital stock are limited to 5 per cent., any profits in excess of this being used for the community itself, ultimately for the reduction of local taxes.

A similar garden suburb has been developed at Hampstead, on the outskirts of London. It, too, is a co-operative community, in which the dividends are limited to 5 per cent. on the investment. A score of other garden-cities have been begun in the neighborhood of London, Manchester, Liverpool, York, and elsewhere.

Possibly the garden-city will redeem the British city. Housing conditions are everywhere bad, and poverty is so general that it has alarmed the nation. No country in Europe is so nearly exclusively urban as Great Britain. The census of 1911 shows a population for England and Wales of 618 to the square mile. Sixty years ago the population was about equally divided between the country and the town, but in 1911 the census shows that no less than 78

per cent. of the population live under urban, and only 22 per cent. under rural conditions. Seventy per cent. of the people live in towns of more than 10,000 population. Decade by decade the urban population increases in spite of constant official effort during the last ten years to create a movement back to the land.

Two movements have recently been started which promise to relieve this tendency. One is the taxation of land values, which had its beginnings in the budget fight of 1909 for the valuation of land and its taxation at a low rate; the other, the garden-suburb and garden-city movement, whose possibilities are as yet only faintly realized. The threatened taxation of land values has stimulated the sale of great estates to small farmers, while the garden-city movement has indicated the possibilities of industrial and residential decentralization, which, from the present interest in the idea, give promise of changing the character of the British city. All these ideas look to the utilization of the powers of government to improve the condition of all classes. They are a suggestion of the potentiality of democracy when consciously directed to social ends.

[1] For a more extended description, by the author, of The Garden Cities of England, see *Scribner's Magazine*, July, 1912.

CHAPTER XVII

HOW THE BRITISH CITY IS GOVERNED

The administrative machinery of the British city, or borough, as it is legally called, is very simple. The town council is endowed with all the powers the city enjoys. There is only one elective official, and that is the councilman. The people do not select the mayor or judicial magistrates. There are no boards or commissions which confuse the voter as to where responsibility should be placed. The mayor is chosen by the council. So is the town clerk. The managers of the various departments are nominated by committees and subsequently confirmed by the council. Up to 1902 local education was in the hands of separate agencies, but by the education act of that year it was transferred to the council, which administers education through a committee. This is all there is to the government of the British city. It is simple, direct, and easily understood by all.

The town council is a large body, much larger than it is with us, but about the same size as it is in Germany. The election is usually by wards, although some of the smaller towns elect councilmen at large. Most of the larger boroughs are divided into sixteen

wards, with three members from each. In some cities the councils are much larger. The London county council has 118 members. In Manchester there are 103, in Liverpool 134, and in Glasgow 75. Members are elected for a three-year term, and one-third retire every year. All citizens except clergymen, including women since 1907, are eligible to membership. Even non-residents may be chosen if they own property in the municipality or pay certain rates and live within fifteen miles of the borough. Nor need candidates live in the wards which they represent. In consequence the councils of the larger cities contain many members who live in the suburbs, but do business in the city. This is also the rule as to members of Parliament, and is one explanation of the long service of capable men in British politics. It enables the community to draw on talent wherever it may be found. A capable man defeated in one ward can stand for election in another. This reduces log-rolling. It raises the whole city above its parts.

In addition to the councilmen there are a certain number of aldermen, usually sixteen, chosen by the council upon its organization, either from out its own membership or from distinguished citizens outside. Except in special cases the number of aldermen is fixed by law at one-third of the council. Aldermen are chosen for six years, and one-third of the number retire every three years. The usual practice is to select the older and more experienced councilmen

for this distinction, by-elections being then held to fill the vacancies. Frequently candidates who have been defeated for the council are elected as aldermen. Re-elections are the rule, and it is common to find men in the council who have served in one capacity or the other for a quarter of a century.

Aldermen have the same powers as councillors. They sit in the council, which has but one chamber, and vote on all questions. The only distinction between councilmen and aldermen is the method of election and the greater dignity which attaches to the latter office. Partisan considerations enter into the selection, although it is not uncommon for an understanding to exist by which the minority party receives recognition. Aldermen quite generally hold the important chairmanships by virtue of long service.

In a way the aldermen correspond to the unpaid members of the magistrat in the German city. Their experience is that of long training, however, rather than of special qualifications for a particular post. Here the analogy ends, for the aldermen are members of the legislative rather than the administrative department of the city.

The councilmen and aldermen sit together and form the town council. They elect the mayor and appoint the committees. The more distinguished members sit as magistrates.

This is all there is to the machinery of British cities, all of which, with the exception of London,

have the same form of government. There is no provision for the permanent expert, as in Germany, for neither the members of the council nor the mayor receive any salary. Nor is city administration a profession to which men devote their lives. Such permanence and expert assistance as is secured is obtained through the permanent heads of the departments, who are trained in a limited field rather than in the art of city administration. In consequence the British city is far less brilliant than the German city. It has little of the imagination and little of the social outlook which the paid magistrat and permanent expert burgomaster give to the latter. City government in England is part of the politics of the nation, although it is free from many of the evils which characterize city government in this country.

The work of a conscientious councillor is very exacting. The council meets regularly, while the committees are in frequent session. There are inspections to be made, a great variety of city functions to attend, while if the councilman is a police magistrate his official duties may easily consume one-half of his working hours.

The simplicity of English administration is one explanation of the success of the city, as well as of the high order of men who enter the council. This, too, in part, explains the alertness of the voter. He understands the charter. He knows who is responsible. There is no confusion of powers, no conflict of

authority between departments, for there is but one. It is easy to understand the procedure, to follow the reports of council meetings in the newspapers, where they are fully reported. The voter probably knows his councilman personally. He certainly knows how he votes on all important questions.

Nor is there any complicated machinery of nomination or election. Any man or woman can be nominated by the filing of a petition signed by two proposers and eight seconders. Nothing more is required to place a nominee on the ballot. There are no caucuses or conventions, no primaries or delegates between the voter and his agent. There is no boss to be seen, no campaign contributions to be made. The only pledges of the candidate are to his constituents in the ward.

The ballot is as short as it can be made. It is simplicity itself. When the voter goes to the polls at a municipal election in November, he receives a ballot printed on plain white paper which contains the name, residence, and occupation of each candidate. There is no reference to his party affiliations, for the party is not recognized by law in municipal elections. Names are printed in alphabetical order, and after each name a blank space is provided in which the voter indicates his choice.

This ease of nomination has not produced a large number of candidates, as would be expected. There are never more than three or four candidates, and

usually there are but two. There are no national, State, county, and school tickets upon a long blanket ballot; there are no alien issues which have no possible relation to the city. The only question the voter has to decide is as to whether he wants John Doe or Richard Roe as his councilman. Members of Parliament are elected at separate elections, and usually only once in four or five years. Local and national elections are divorced, and each campaign is waged on its own merits. The expenses of the election are borne by the municipality, although the ballots are printed by the candidates.

England seems to have adopted, quite as a matter of course, an easy means for enabling men to enter politics and to remain there if they prove efficient. At the same time the voter can readily change his representative if he has proved unsatisfactory.

Municipal campaigns are often hotly contested, quite generally along party lines; for, while the machinery encourages independence, the party organizations usually select the candidates and aid them in their campaigns. Voters adhere to their parties quite as tenaciously as they do in the United States and the independent candidate has relatively little chance of success.

Quite frequently there is no contest in a ward for years. Wherever the party is overwhelmingly strong or where a councillor has been satisfactory to his constituents he is left undisturbed in his seat. It

has happened that all the candidates at a city election have been returned without contest, while in the election of 1899 less than half the seats in one hundred and three boroughs and urban districts were contested. In thirteen of the municipalities there was not a single councilmanic contest.

The council usually organizes along party lines. The mayor is chosen from the dominant party, as are the town clerk and a majority of the aldermen. The issues which divide councillors are much the same as those which divide members of Parliament and are grouped around economic and industrial policies. Members of the Conservative, or Tory party are generally opposed to any extension of municipal trading and are likely to be found protecting the interests of the landed classes. The Liberal party is essentially the party of business men whose interests are only incidentally landed. The Socialist or Labor group is committed to the extension of municipal activities, but only in a few of the boroughs around London has it become the dominant party. Contests within the council relate to the administration of the street railways, the gas, and other activities, to housing proposals and the feeding of schoolchildren. Labor members demand a reduction in the rates and charges for public services, while the Liberal and Conservative members are inclined to operate the municipal undertakings so as to relieve the rates and taxes.

The British city is really governed by council committees. They are both legislative and executive departments. Each committee is a council in miniature, which directs the department committed to its care. In the larger cities there are from twelve to twenty standing committees, each of which is further subdivided into subcommittees to which are assigned special branches of the work. The subcommittees report to the main committee, and the main committee reports to the whole council. The mayor is an *ex-officio* member of all committees, although he rarely takes part in their deliberations.

Committees are not appointed by the mayor, but are made up by the council itself. Immediately following the election a committee of committees is created, which reports suggested assignments. These recommendations are then referred to the council for approval. Ordinarily the personnel of the committees continues with little change from year to year. It is not uncommon to find men who have served ten, fifteen, or even twenty years on a given committee.

Places on important committees are much sought after as a means of making a reputation or for political advancement. When a vacancy occurs in a chairmanship the deputy is usually advanced to the post, just as members of the council pass to the post of mayor. To be chairman of an important committee is an honor that is greatly prized. This is

particularly true of those committees which control the street railways, gas and electric lighting undertakings, which offer spectacular opportunities for economies, earnings, and service. To be a member of one of these committees, with a budget running into millions of dollars annually, is like being on the board of directors of a railroad corporation in this country. And it is sought for for the same reason.

The chairman is a kind of little mayor, selected by the committee on its organization. He presides over its meetings, and if he is interested in its work becomes an *ex-officio* director of the department. The committee employs the director and staff. It fixes wages, salaries, and the details of management. It prepares and spends its annual budget. All of its actions are, however, referred to the council for approval. At stated intervals a voluminous report is made, usually at the end of the year, which is discussed by the council as a whole.

The managers of the various departments are usually trained men, frequently chosen by competition from other cities, or advanced from one post to another much as are the managers of a private corporation. They are paid good salaries, and are rarely changed for political reasons. Employment is permanent, as it is in Germany. A professional class of expert officials has thus been produced which makes a business of municipal administration. The British city expert differs from the German burgomaster

in being the director of a single department rather than in being one of the managers of the city.

The committee is the central feature of the British city. To it all matters are referred. From it almost all initiative comes. The great increase in municipal functions which has taken place in recent years has made it impossible for the council as a whole to familiarize itself with the details of administration in each department or to have an intelligent opinion about its needs. In consequence the recommendations of the committee are usually approved by the council as a whole, and in most of the details of management it acts as though it were an independent body.

The position of mayor or provost—as the mayor is called in Scotland—is a social and titular rather than executive post. The mayor is chosen by the council each year upon its organization rather than by the people directly. He is the chairman of the council, and his selection is often determined by seniority of service. The council system of administration offers no place for a strong mayor, as do the German and American systems, for all of the details of administration are lodged with the council committees. The public does not hold the executive responsible for the success or failure of city administration, and rarely does he promote a policy or stand for a programme. Almost the only notable exception is that of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who was Mayor of Birmingham from 1873 to 1876.

Despite the lack of power of the mayor, his social activities are very absorbing. He entertains the city's guests, opens hospitals and public buildings, and presides on all public occasions. The town hall is the centre of many activities, of receptions, balls, and other functions, at which the mayor is the host. He is called upon to adjust labor disputes and to represent the city on formal occasions. If the King honors the city with a visit he has the distinction of entertaining him. These, however, are his extra-legal powers. By virtue of his office he is a member of all committees, although he rarely attends them. He has no veto power over legislation, and makes no important appointments. He is a justice of the peace and sits as magistrate in the disposition of petty cases.

In spite of this lack of power, the office of mayor is the goal of the business man's ambition. For this distinction he serves in the council. Toward this honor he looks forward as the end of an honorable career. In anticipation of the burdens it entails upon his purse, he saves. For in the larger cities the mayor must be a man of wealth. And if his fondest hopes are realized, retirement from office is crowned by a knighthood from the King. This is the apotheosis of the British tradesman, the shopkeeper, and the manufacturer, who form the ruling class in the cities.

The office involves heavy expense to the mayor's

private purse, for he receives no salary. He is, however, relieved of a portion of the burden which his many social obligations entail by an appropriation by the council for the purpose. In some of the larger cities, like London, Liverpool, and Dublin, he has a mansion house as a town residence. Some cities also maintain a coach and pair for his use. On official occasions he is adorned with robes and jewels, and cuts a distinguished figure before the community. For some years Dublin appropriated $18,000 a year for its lord mayor, but this appropriation was recently reduced to $8,000. Bristol allows him $5,000 and $600 more for a private secretary. Edinburgh appropriates $5,000 for its lord provost, while Bradford, Leeds, Belfast, and Hull make no standing appropriation, but provide for the expenses of entertainment on special occasions. But no matter what the appropriation may be, it is rarely sufficient to meet the expenses incident to the proper maintenance of the office. In spite of this fact the mayoralty commands the talent of the community and excites the ambition of successful business men.

The British official who corresponds most closely to the German burgomaster, and in some respects to the American mayor, is the town clerk. The office is a distinguished one and requires a high order of ability. The clerk is elected by the council; he receives a generous salary, holds office during good behavior, and makes a profession of his calling. He

is usually a lawyer and must be familiar with the many special acts relating to the city and be able to appear before parliamentary committees for the promotion of local legislation.

The clerk of Glasgow receives $10,000 a year. Some years ago when a vacancy occurred in that city, the council advertised for a clerk just as the German city advertises for members of its magistrat. Partisan questions usually influence the selection, but not to the neglect of ability.

The clerk is in a sense the guiding spirit of the British city. To him the council turns for advice upon all kinds of municipal questions. He is the secretary of all committees, and the custodian of the city's records. He reports to the local government board and the board of trade, and prepares the official transactions of the municipality. He attends the meetings of the council as well as of important committees. He prepares reports and performs such other duties as the council may provide. In the larger towns he has a number of assistants who are trained like himself. The town clerk, together with permanent salaried heads of departments, constitutes the expert element in British city administration.

There is no such thing as the spoils system in the British city, nor are there any civil service laws as there are with us. Public opinion would not tolerate the use of public office for the organization of a party machine or the payment of personal debts. Merit

is recognized in all departments, and permanency of tenure is assured, even among day laborers.

Nor has the extension of municipal trading, with the thousands of employees which it has added to the pay-roll, weakened the traditions or the sanctity of public office. It is quite possible that municipal trading has strengthened the merit system by reason of the bigness of the city and the importance of its activities. The introduction of the spoils system would dislocate so many services that it would arouse an irresistible protest. There has been some fear that the increase in the number of employees might lead to the coercion of the council by organized labor, but this fear has never been realized, partly because the city pays a higher standard of wages and treats its employees better than do the private employers, and partly because public opinion would quickly resent any such attempt.

The British city is honest; of that there is no doubt. There have been instances of favoritism in awarding contracts by the smaller communities, but these have been ruthlessly uncovered. A few instances have also come to light in which members of councils were stockholders in corporations or were otherwise interested in contracts from the city. In Manchester, where an alderman had a slight interest as stockholder in a company which secured an award, even though the award was to the lowest and best bidder, the alderman was forced to resign his office.

A Back Garden in Port Sunlight, Garden Village.

Instances of this kind, however, are rare. None of the evils so freely predicted as inherent in municipal ownership have followed the municipalization of the public service corporations. There has been no graft, no machine, no spoils. Rather the reverse has been true. The importance of the city's activities has increased the sense of responsibility on the part of the public and the press. It has brought the city into close and intimate touch with all the citizens, who are jealous of the services rendered, of the earnings and the success of the undertaking.

The British city is also efficient. It has not the big vision of the German city nor the generosity of our own. The system of taxation creates a cheese-paring policy on the part of the council, and resentment on the part of the community of any undertaking which increases the burdens of taxes. Nor has the city the co-operation of the university and of science as it has in Germany, where every municipal problem is the subject of exhaustive study and a voluminous literature. Economy is the prevailing note in administration, and expenditures are scrutinized when made for anything save obviously necessary purposes. The fear of the taxpayer is present in every councilman's breast. This checks much needed expenditure for schools, parks, playgrounds, and those social activities that have developed so rapidly in this country and Germany.

Councilmen, too, come from a different class than

in Germany. They are for the most part tradesmen, small shopkeepers, self-made men of limited education and imagination. Rarely do the leisure classes or the aristocracy seek municipal office. They do not mix in city affairs, but live almost exclusively in the country. But there is a fine earnestness about city administration, and conscientious devotion to public work. Council meetings are well attended, and the discussions are very animated. Members of the council as well as the permanent officials are highly respected in their communities. In recent years labor candidates have been finding their way into councils. They have not obtained control in any of the large cities, but they do exert a stimulating influence on public opinion. There has been no suggestion that administration has suffered, or that honesty and efficiency have in any way depreciated, by their coming.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EXPLANATION OF THE BRITISH CITY

We can only understand the cities of Great Britain when we understand the class which rules the nation of which they are a part. This is because the city has no life of its own. It is not independent; it is the creature of Parliament in Great Britain, just as it is the creature of the state legislature in America. In both countries it has only such powers, only such life, as the legislature permits it to enjoy.

In this respect the modern city differs from those of ancient and mediæval times. Then the city was free, free in the sense that Athens, Corinth, Syracuse, and Rome were free; free as were the city states of Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfort, and Lübeck. Present-day cities, however, are political wards. Their life is minutely fixed for them by state laws. This more than anything else distinguishes the twentieth-century city from the cities of antiquity.

And until we appreciate this fact, and all that it implies; until we know the laws of the state and something of the class which makes these laws; until we fathom the economic interests that control legislative bodies, we cannot understand the city at all.

Even the psychology of the people is traceable to economic rather than to racial influences; it is traceable to economic influences which in turn are traceable to laws which create the environment in which people not only live but think as well.

Students of the city have failed to realize this fact; they have failed to see how completely the city is moulded by laws in whose making it has no part. Yet the attitude of mind of the people, their love or indifference, the psychology of the voter, is the reflection of the legal status which the cities enjoy. The physical appearance of the city is a product of the same antecedent legal conditions. It is beautiful or ugly; it is comfortable or the reverse; it is healthful or unsanitary—all these local conditions relate back to the state itself. They are consequences of the class interests which dominate Parliament, diets, and legislatures. And if the city is the prey of privileged interests, if it is denied the power to own or regulate the physical basis of its life, it will reflect the license of private property, as it does in England and America.

The British city has little liberty. It enjoys none of the freedom of the German or Italian city. In many ways it is far less free than are our own. There is no ripper legislation in Great Britain, no changing of charters for partisan reasons or at the behest of some powerful boss or corporation behind the boss. This is unknown and inconceivable. And the city

has substantial autonomy in police and sanitary matters. There has been no change in the form of municipal government for three-quarters of a century, for the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, which provided a uniform charter for all municipal corporations, has remained substantially unchanged since that time. And because Great Britain is free from ripper legislation and legislative interference with the form of government, we have assumed that the city enjoys home rule and substantial self-government. But nothing is farther from the truth. Cities have far less power to control the things which lie at the heart of their life than do our own cities, crippled as they are by the jealousy of state legislatures and of powerful business interests.

The British city has been treated by Parliament as a feudal possession, as though it were still the property of the landed aristocracy, as it was in feudal times. Legislation affecting cities has been enacted with an eye to the creation and preservation of private rights, rather than for the development of a free community. Parliament has thought but little of the claims of the city. It has thought of the property of its members, which has been safeguarded in every possible way.

During the nineteenth century great cities came into existence on the landed estates, into which the country is still divided, for to this day the feudal aristocracy, which dominates the House of Lords,

and is ascendant in the House of Commons as well, retains title to nearly all the land of Great Britain, and collects ground rents from the great majority of the British people. City dwellers, rich and poor alike, are tenants—ground tenants. They do not own the land on which their houses, factories, or office buildings have been erected. They are like the tenants of the Astor estate in New York or the ground tenants of Baltimore and Philadelphia. The land is still owned by the descendants of the families that owned it when the country was almost exclusively agricultural. It is this that has made the aristocracy of Great Britain so rich and all the rest of the nation so poor. It is the universal system of land monopoly and the political control of the land-owning class that explain the British city, for the powers which the cities enjoy have been granted with a jealous eye to the rights or claims of the landed classes.

The extent of land monopoly is almost incredible. One-fourth of the land of the United Kingdom is owned by 1,200 persons, another fourth is held by 6,200 owners, while the remaining one-half is distributed between 312,150 persons. There are twelve landlords who own four and one-half million acres between them. The land underlying London, with its 7,000,000 people, is owned in large part by nine estates. The city of Huddersfield, with its 95,000 people, is owned by another noble lord; so are the cities of Sheffield and Bury; so are Burton-on-Trent

and Devenport. City after city is built upon the land of one or more great owners, whose rent-rolls have reached colossal proportions through no efforts of their own.

The lands of the aristocracy are entailed or protected from alienation by settlements. Owners cannot sell their estates even if they would. It is the universal custom to lease land to tenants with the provision in the contract that all the improvements made by the tenant shall return to the landlord without compensation on the expiration of the lease. By this process the landed aristocracy gradually acquires all of the improvements on the land, and by periodical reappraisal of the leases they increase the burden of rent which the producing classes pay.

Not only is this true, but wherever possible the landed aristocracy in Parliament has converted mere licenses into vested interests that can only be taken away or acquired by the public on the payment of heavy damages. Privileges without number have been so created. Markets are rights appurtenant to land. If the city desires to open a market, it is required to pay not for the land alone, but for the right to maintain a market as well. For cities have no general right of eminent domain or compulsory purchase, as they have with us. They have to negotiate with the land-owner, and to acquire the land on his terms, and then go to the same landlord and his associates in Parliament to secure the right to enter

on the enterprise. All London with its 7,000,000 people is dependent upon Covent Garden Market, owned by the family of Bedford, from which the present duke enjoys a princely revenue; and so powerful are the present owners that the London County Council has never been able to secure the right to open a market of its own even on the land which it already possesses.

Docks, too, are monopoly privileges which can only be acquired on such terms as the owners exact. And the right to own the docks has to be first secured by the city from the class which owns the land to be acquired for the purpose. Even the right to maintain a public-house or saloon is a landed privilege which can only be taken away by the payment to the land-owner of the capitalized value of the rental he has received from the public-house keeper for its use for that purpose. The measure of damages is not the injury suffered by the saloon-keeper; it is rather the capitalized value of monopoly rents which the owner of the land has been able to collect.

Cities have to pay extortionate prices for the right to lay water-mains to distant water-supplies. They cannot build until the tribute which the land-owners demand has been satisfied. Nor can they condemn slums and tenements; they can only raze them on payment of the capitalized value of their congested rentals, rentals which have been artificially enhanced

by overcrowding encouraged by the owner in anticipation of such purchase by the community. Street-railway, gas, and water undertakings can only be acquired in the same way on the payment of their franchise value. The class which rules in Parliament owns all these agencies which lie so close to the life of the people. And the noble peers at Westminster have only permitted the cities to regulate or to buy them on such terms as the owners themselves dictated.

The cost of this class control of the cities is colossal. It is seen in the indebtedness of the towns, in the capitalization of the steam railways, in the burdens imposed on municipal enterprises. Most of all, it is seen in the terrible suffering of the people, in the poverty of the cities, in the depopulation of the countryside, for these conditions are traceable to the privileges created by those who own and who at the same time rule the nation.

This is the economic foundation of the British city. It is the product of class rule. The House of Lords is almost exclusively a landed body. Its power was recently limited by the abolition of its veto on the budget and its suspension on other legislation. But the landed classes are still powerful in the House of Commons. They control the Conservative party. They are powerful in the Liberal party. But far more important than their present power are the laws adopted during preceding cen-

turies which protect their privileges in every possible way. There are a thousand restraints on municipal initiative, hundreds of laws, customs, and usages that suppress freedom. Great Britain had no day of feudal renunciation, as had France during the Revolution. It had no Von Stein and Hardenburg, as had Germany, to repeal the old abuses. At no time has democracy been able to repeal the multitude of class laws which were largely swept away in Europe under the influences of the French Revolution.

Costly as are the examples of class rule referred to, the costliest of all is the system of local taxation which the landlords in Parliament have imposed on the cities; a system under which all of the local taxes have been shifted onto the backs of the tenant. Incredible as it may seem, land as land pays no direct taxes for local purposes at all. The land has not been assessed for taxation since 1692, when Great Britain was an agricultural country and London was little more than a village. The landlords have never permitted a revaluation to be made or their taxes to be increased until the budget of 1909 was adopted by a recent Liberal ministry.

As stated elsewhere, all local rates or taxes are paid by the tenant. Whereas we ascertain the selling value of real property, and upon this valuation assess the local rate, which ranges from 1 to 2 per cent., in Great Britain the rent actually paid by the

tenant is ascertained, and then the tenant is compelled to pay an additional sum as taxes. His taxes, or rates, are determined by the amount of his rent. If his rent is $500 a year, he pays from $150 to $250 more in taxes; and if the property is not occupied, it pays no taxes at all, for there is no one from whom they can be collected. If it is unimproved or is not used, it is tax-free. It may be in the heart of the business district and be worth millions of dollars, but if no rent is received for its use it pays no tax.

It is against this injustice that five hundred local communities have organized to promote a measure in Parliament for permission to substitute the American system of taxation, based upon capital or selling rather than upon rental values. But the landlords have repeatedly thrown out the bills, for tax exemption is the most valuable privilege which they enjoy. By this simple device they relieve themselves from taxes, which, if assessed as they are in America, would amount to approximately $200,000,000 a year. That is what the landed aristocracy would pay if their land were taxed as it is in this country. New York City alone collects approximately $80,000,000 a year from land values, exclusive of the taxes on improvements.

The system of local taxation explains the poverty of the people and the wretched housing conditions which everywhere prevail. It also explains the appearance of the city. For the exemption of land from

taxation enables the owner to keep it out of use; this in turn congests the city within the smallest possible limits. It increases rents through the monopoly holding of the land, and this, together with the bad houses that are built, explains the tenement and the slum.

In consequence, Great Britain is a land speculator's paradise. The owner is under no necessity to improve his property or to dispose of his holdings. He can hold them out of use for an indefinite time. Congestion follows as a matter of course, for building sites are held until they are ripe for tenements. Population is kept closely confined until it can be restrained no longer, and then when it overflows it passes on to land as prohibitive in price as that from which it was crowded. This is why British cities are built close up to undeveloped agricultural land; this is why tenements may be seen close packed upon the land with hundreds of acres of open country all about them, tenements which are almost as crowded as those in the centre of the city. There is no pressure on the owner to improve, for he is able to realize the last penny in the pound by holding his property until it is absolutely needed for building.

Parliament exercises its power over the city and protects the interests of the ruling class in many other ways. Cities, it is true, are generally permitted to enter on industrial undertakings that are not too novel or too hazardous. They have little

difficulty in securing power to acquire a street railway or a gas plant, to build model houses or tenements. But all these things have to be authorized by a special act. They are not enjoyed as a matter of right. Every new bond issue, every new project, has to come before Parliament for approval. Investigations are first made by the local government board, which makes a report on the subject, after which Parliament legislates. And it is through the conditions imposed on the project that the privileged classes exercise their control and exact their tribute. A slum clearance is authorized only when the landlords in Parliament are assured that the owners' estimate of damage will be satisfied. Docks can only be built with the permission of the same class and on its terms. The acquisition of new sources of supply for water plants, the regulation of the liquor traffic, the acquisition of markets—all these must be submitted to the owners of the property affected in Parliament before approval is given. This is the way privilege protects its interests. And the laws enter into the greatest particularity as to the way things shall be done, the amount of money that shall be spent, and the method employed in computing damages. In this way the city is supervised by Parliament not for its own good, but for the good of the class which is supreme in politics.

The special acts relating to a large city fill half a dozen volumes. The time of Parliament is consumed

with private acts promoted by municipal authorities for the enlargement of their powers. Private acts are initiated by the town council, which directs that a bill be prepared for the purpose. The measure is then sent to the member of Parliament who represents the district. All of the interested parties are notified in order that hearings may be had by the committee to which the measure has been referred. And if the bill involves the expenditure of money, it must be submitted to the rate-payers for approval.

Municipal authorities can only borrow money for the extension of their street-railway systems, for change in the method of traction, for the carrying of parcels, or the sale of such accessories as gas-stoves and electric equipment, with the slow and tedious approval of Parliament. Such powers as the American city enjoys as a matter of course in condemnation proceedings, special assessments, the issuance of bonds, the management of water undertakings, the building of docks, or the opening of markets do not exist in Great Britain. And it is these activities which control a city's life. They are far more important to the comfort and convenience and health of the community than are the forms of the charter, upon which we place so much emphasis.

Special legislation, too, is very costly. Parliamentary barristers, who belong to the privileged classes, must be employed to promote each measure. Expert witnesses must be secured. A parliamentary

report shows that during the six years from 1892 to 1898 the local authorities of Great Britain spent $3,490,000 to secure new powers or to protect themselves from private bills introduced by special interests which were opposed by the cities. The London County Council spent $750,000 to prevent the passage of a franchise grant for an electric light and power monopoly. This sum was used for legitimate purposes in the payment of parliamentary agents and experts in the controversy over the bill. Private and local bill legislation is so costly that it is impossible to correct many minor abuses or to secure affirmative legislation for many activities that should be enjoyed as a matter of course.

The city is also subject to supervision by the local government board and the board of trade, which are cabinet portfolios, like the interior department of Prussia. The local government board sanctions and supervises all loans. It investigates as to the advisability of any new project. The health of the city is supervised by the state authorities on the assumption that the city is an integral part of the nation. The board has control of poor-law administration and the board of guardians. In England and Wales it audits the accounts of local authorities by accountants who go from city to city to see whether any irregularity has occurred or any funds have been spent in violation of law. The town planning act of 1909 was intrusted to the local

government board, which passes upon all proposals for the development of suburban areas and the promotion of health and sanitary arrangements.

There are no statutory debt limits, as in America. A municipal corporation may borrow in any amount that Parliament or the central authorities permit. But it cannot borrow a penny without this assent. Orders sanctioning loans carefully prescribe the rate of interest to be paid and the provisions for the repayment of the debt.

Nor does the city grant franchises to public utility corporations. These, too, are made by Parliament by special acts which impose the terms and conditions for the use of the city streets. The city is consulted in these grants, but it has no power to make them.

It would be difficult to exaggerate or even enumerate the evils which flow from this control of the city by Parliament, a control which is in effect lodged in the hands of those who own the things which most vitally affect the city's life. Just as the American city is cramped and confined by class legislation, inspired for the most part by public service corporations, railways, and land speculators, so the British city is in chains to the landed aristocracy, which refuses to endow it with home rule, and which watchfully supervises every grant of power to insure that its own property and privileges will be protected. In possibly no country in the world is privilege more

absolute in its ascendency or more costly in its control than in the cities of Great Britain, whose achievements have been made in spite of, rather than in consequence of, the aid and co-operation of the state.

But the cost of this class control does not end here. This supervision over the city, but most of all the system of taxation and land monopoly which prevails, explain the physical appearance of the city; they explain its lack of beauty and charm. These, too, explain the meanness of city architecture, and the failure of the British city to grow as have the far more beautiful cities of the Continent.

For the British city is ugly. There are but few exceptions. Parts of Edinburgh and Dublin are beautiful. So are Oxford, Cambridge, and Chester, and the cathedral towns. But they are old seats of learning or religion which the landed classes love as they do their country estates. They are part of their class traditions. But this almost exhausts the list of beautiful cities. The great industrial towns, in which one-half of the British people dwell, are the ugliest cities of the world. They have none of the charm that makes men love cities. Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Liverpool, Bradford, Belfast, Birmingham, Glasgow, there is little in any of them to relieve the universal monotony of street and architecture.

Public and private architecture, too, is bad.

There are few fine buildings, the parks are inadequate, there is little provision for recreation and pleasure. Miles of brick and stone cottages, all much alike, line the streets. There is little of that city sense so universal in Germany.

Architecture in Great Britain has never found expression in the city. It has never awakened the ambition of the artist. Nor has the town house or the business block. No city in Great Britain has done what Budapest has done, which city boldly rebuilt itself to express the pride and ambition of the nation. None of the smaller towns are built as are Düsseldorf, Munich, Frankfort, or a score of other German cities. The British city is an expression of the license of the manufacturing classes, cramped and confined by the land laws and the system of taxation which prevails.

The appearance of the British city is traceable to the fact that there is no pressure behind the landowner to improve his land, while the tenant has no incentive to do so. For the improvements all pass to the landlord without compensation on the expiration of the lease and must be made as the landlord dictates. Every incentive to fine buildings or the expression of private taste is lacking under the system of land tenure and taxation which prevails.

In addition to this, the aristocracy is a country aristocracy. Its life is not a city life, as it is in Germany and America. The aristocracy lives in the country

from its rents, and only goes to London for the season. It has a contempt for trade, and has never mixed with commerce. The city has never inspired the architect or the artist, as it has in other countries, for the art, architecture, and education of a nation always reflect the interests of the ruling class.

Because of this divorce of the landed aristocracy from the city Parliament has always treated it as an alien thing, much as it treated Ireland. The church has a more important place in its affections, as have the game laws. The city does not command the thought of the nation, the interest of the press, or of literature. Even to-day, with the city the most portentous problem of the empire, the literature of the city is very meagre. Not more than a half-dozen books of recognized authority on the subject have been written by Englishmen. There are few exhaustive statistical studies, year-books, and scholarly monographs on municipal problems, of which there is such a quantity in Germany. Nor is municipal administration studied in the colleges, as it is with us. The city is neglected by the university, by statesmen, and by publicists. It does not interest the ruling class or the public opinion made by that class.

The cities of Great Britain differ from the cities of America and Germany, not so much in racial qualities as in their economic foundations, and it is these economic foundations which mould the mind

of the voter. The local taxes are very heavy; they amount to from one-fourth to one-half of the amount of the tenant's rent. And the voter watches every new undertaking, every new suggestion, with the fear of increased taxes always in his mind. Councilmen reflect this point of view, for they, too, are rate-payers. They, too, think in terms of taxes. The British city thinks through its purse. Its ideals are limited by this fact. This explains the cheese-paring economies of the council; it explains its unwillingness to spend for anything save imperative needs. The movement for municipal ownership sprang largely from the desire of the rate-payers to relieve themselves from taxation by the profits of these undertakings.

A second explanation of the psychology of the voter is the extent of municipal trading. The public utility corporations touch the community in countless ways. The tramways are under daily inspection. They affect the comfort of the community in so many ways. Through municipal ownership the citizen acquires a sense of the dignity of the city. He is a stockholder as well as a voter. He cannot afford to be indifferent to municipal elections; cannot afford to permit incompetent or dishonest men to be chosen. The British voter thinks in economic rather than in personal terms. This explains his alertness, his intolerance, and his insistence on honesty and efficiency.

These are the influences that make the British city what it is. It is moulded by class laws enacted by Parliament for the protection of the pecuniary interests of its members. The landed classes legislate for themselves just as do the franchise-owners, railway magnates, tariff interests, and mine-owners in America. And they sacrifice the city in every possible way. They have made it what it is.

CHAPTER XIX

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OF THE GAS SUPPLY

The British city is far more limited in its activities than are the cities of Germany. It has neither the freedom nor the social vision of the cities of the latter country. Municipal trading, as it is called, is almost confined to street railways, gas, water, and electric-lighting undertakings, to docks, markets, and public baths. It has not been extended to pawnshops and savings institutions, to land speculation, to the many institutions of social service which characterize the more progressive cities of Germany. There have been many housing experiments, but they have not been as intelligently planned as those of the latter country, nor have they been as successful. They have been directly built by the city, but have been handicapped by a heavy initial cost for the slum clearances which they involved.

Ten years ago municipal trading was the most discussed question in Great Britain. The papers were full of it. There were innumerable pamphlets upon it. But trading is no longer a debated question. It is the nearly universal policy of all large cities and of most of the smaller ones. There is abundant in-

terest in the subject, but little controversy over it. The cities have won their case by the logic of financial success. They have fortified their position by good service, by cheap rates, and by the introduction of economies. Nowhere is there any suggestion to return to private management. Water plants have been widely owned by the cities from the very beginning, as they are with us. Two hundred and ninety-eight local authorities own gas plants, and this includes most of the large cities with the exception of London, Liverpool, and Sheffield. The street-railway and electric-lighting controversy has been the most acrimonious, because of the organized nature of the electrical business and the universal movement for its ownership. But even this controversy has died down. It had little effect on the spread of the movement.

Gas has not been as generally municipalized as have the street-railway, electric-lighting, and water undertakings. The water supply has always been looked upon as a proper field for public ownership, while the electric-lighting plants and street railways were taken over at the time of the introduction of electricity or during the period of transition from horse to electric traction. City councils saw an opportunity to make money from these enterprises. In addition the private gas companies were entrenched before the movement for public ownership had gained much headway. Under the rules of

valuation provided by Parliament for purchase the cities are required to pay generously for the franchise values of the companies. This, along with the idea that electricity would eventually supplant gas, has checked the municipalization of the supply.

The following is a condensed statement of the public and private gas undertakings in the United Kingdom for the year 1910–11, taken from the *Municipal Year-Book*, 1912 (page 575), and compiled from official returns of local authorities and private companies:

	Local Authorities	Private Companies
Number of plants owned by.	298	511
Capital invested	$151,002,560	$460,965,955
Total receipts	$54,148,790	$102,232,190
Operating expenses	$39,512,255	$76,544,640
Ratio of expense to gross earnings	72.86 per cent.	74.87 per cent.
Net revenue	$14,636,535	$25,687,550
Return on capital invested	9¾ per cent.	5⅝ per cent.
Number of consumers	2,666,146	3,751,703
Approximate average charge for gas per 1,000 cubic feet	60 cents	66 cents

The total receipts of the public plants are about one-half the receipts of the private companies, while the number of public plants is somewhat above this percentage. There is no evidence that the public plants are carelessly managed or inefficient. Rather the reverse is true. Municipal plants are operated

at a lower percentage of their earnings than are the private ones, the percentage of the former being 72.96, while in the private plants it is 74.87. This is in spite of the fact that the public plants almost always pay higher wages, give shorter hours, and allow holidays and other privileges not accorded by the private companies. The public plants, too, have only one-fourth of the total capital invested in the business, but serve over 40 per cent. of the total consumers, showing that the cities reach a larger number of potential consumers than do the companies. This is done by encouraging the use of gas by penny-in-the-slot meters, by the renting and placing of gas-stoves and appliances, and the stimulation of its use in the interest of cleanliness and convenience. Cities realize the value of light as a civilizing agency, and encourage it in every possible way.

In addition the local authorities earn a larger return on the capital invested than do the companies, showing again that councilmen are good business men, better even than the directors of private companies. In 1910–11 the public undertakings earned 9¾ per cent. on their capital, while the companies earned only 5⅝ per cent. This was the return after the payment of all statutory charges for depreciation and maintenance as well as taxes. Finally, the public plants sold gas at an average of 60 cents per 1,000 cubic feet, while the private companies charged

an average of 66 cents, or 10 per cent. higher than the municipal authorities.

Many of the cities sell gas below this figure, as appears from the following table, the rates for fuel being

Cities	Net Profits	Price of Gas per 1,000 Cubic Feet
Belfast	$202,000	54 cents
Birmingham	438,105	42 to 56 "
Bolton	148,685	56 "
Bradford	64,675	50 "
Burnley	75,045	50 "
Burton	70,820	52 to 56 "
Coventry	93,160	56 "
Halifax	79,840	50 "
Leeds	90,505	52 "
Leicester	236,635	56 "
Manchester	361,625	58 to 60 "
Nottingham	245,715	52 to 56 "
Oldham	92,400	46 "
Rochdale	89,540	50 "
Salford	167,890	56 "
Stockport	130,960	60 to 68 "

considerably below the price for lighting. Special prices are also made for factory uses.

The municipal undertakings earn large sums in excess of operating costs, which are used to pay off the debt of the plant, for the making of extensions, and for the relief of taxation. The total contributions of all the municipal plants for the latter purpose exceed $2,000,000 a year. This is in addition to making provision for the sinking-fund charge to retire the debt, for depreciation and reserve, and for taxes, which the public as well as the private com-

panies are required by law to pay. The net profits, together with the charges for gas in the cities, shown in the table on preceding page, are obtained from the *Municipal Year-Book for the Year* 1912, and are taken from the returns to the Board of Trade for the year 1910–11.

CHAPTER XX

MUNICIPAL TRANSIT IN GREAT BRITAIN

Municipal operation of the street railways in Great Britain began with the experiment of the city of Glasgow in 1894. It has since been adopted by one hundred and thirty-six cities and local authorities, while forty other local authorities own the tracks but lease the operation to a private company. The success of public operation is now too obvious to be challenged, and practically all classes are united in its support. Almost the only opposition comes from the big electrical enterprises, which are seeking to retain the privileges they now enjoy.

Glasgow was the first large city to both own and operate its street railways. It undertook operation after an unsatisfactory experience with a private company which had operated a horse line under a twenty-one year grant. There had been a long controversy between the company and its employees, in which the sympathy of the community was with the men. This controversy, together with the inability of the council to agree on terms for the renewal of the grant, led the city to municipalize

the lines. The success was almost immediate, and other cities followed the example.

The capital outlay of the tramways of Glasgow now amounts to $17,515,000, and the total receipts for 1911 were $4,747,740. The operating expenses were 56 per cent. of the earnings, or $2,665,895, leaving a profit of $2,081,541, which was distributed as follows: for interest on the indebtedness, $276,-290; for sinking fund to repay the debt at maturity, $448,970; for depreciation or reserve, $1,356,285; and to the Common Good, a fund used for general municipal purposes, $343,390. The tramways earned 11.88 per cent. on the capital invested, at an average rate of fare of 1.9 cents or less than 40 per cent. of the average fare paid in the United States. They earned $1,699,675 in net profits after paying interest charges and sinking fund, which was contributed to the betterment of the property or to community uses.

The zone system prevails in Glasgow, as it does all over Great Britain, on both the public and private lines. There is a halfpenny or one-cent fare for short distances of about half a mile. For the year 1911, 27.86 per cent. of the passengers paid but one cent. Those paying two cents formed 54.85 per cent. of the total number, while the percentage paying three cents was 8.15. 82.71 per cent. of all the passengers paid two cents or less.

The one-cent fare stimulates traffic in the centre of the city and is a great convenience. It increases

travel when traffic is light. It is also of great service to working girls and women who go home for their lunches, as do many workingmen.

In 1911, 237,967,307 passengers used the tramways, and paid $4,747,740 in fares. In America, at the prevailing five-cent fares, these passengers would have paid $11,898,365.[1]

On the following page is a condensed statement of the operating experiences of the municipal tramways of four cities. The reports are for the year 1911.[2]

Municipal trading cannot be challenged on its financial showing. Nor can it be claimed that the accounts are inaccurate. Municipal authorities are required to keep their accounts according to standards fixed by the local government board. Annual returns must be made to the board of trade, which is a portfolio of the government, presided over by a member of the cabinet. The reports are published each year and are subject to scrutiny, while the books of the municipality are audited by the central authorities in order that the requirements as to debt repayment, depreciation, and reserve may be properly provided for.

The extent of public and private ownership in Great Britain, as well as the relative operations of each, are indicated by the following table, taken

[1] For more detailed reports of Glasgow and other British cities, see *The Municipal Year-Book, London*, which gives complete municipal statistics of all the local authorities of Great Britain.

[2] *The Municipal Year-Book*, 1912, pp. 593, 598, 602.

	Glasgow	Manchester	Liverpool	Sheffield
Population	1,150,000	900,000	846,000	478,800
Date railways acquired	1898	1901	1898	1899
Capital outlay	$17,515,870	$9,905,800	$9,932,655	$6,774,855
Total receipts	$4,747,740	$4,050,470	$2,977,765	$1,598,800
Working expense	$2,665,895	$2,595,710	$1,998,350	$930,125
Per cent. of operation costs to earnings	56 per cent.	64 per cent.	67 per cent.	58 per cent.
Net receipts	$2,081,545	$1,454,760	$979,415	$668,675
Percentage on capital	11.88 per cent.	14.68 per cent.	9.86 per cent.	9.87 per cent.
Interest charges on debt	$276,290	$384,645	$215,580	$203,145
Debt repayment	$448,470	$243,520	$272,505	$199,485
Surplus	$1,356,285	$826,570	$491,330	$266,045
To relief of taxation	$343,390	$451,570	$163,755	$132,705
Depreciation and reserve	$1,012,895	$375,000	$327,555	$106,980
Average fare per passenger	1.9 cents	2.32 cents	2.22 cents	1.8 cents

from the *Municipal Year-Book for the Year* 1912. The reports cover operations for the fiscal year 1910:

	Local Authorities	Private Companies
Number owned and actually operated[1]	136	138
Capital invested	$220,541,250	$147,780,580
Gross receipts	$47,437,170	$17,952,335
Working expenses	$29,436,216	$11,769,970
Ratio of working expenses to gross receipts	62.05 per cent.	62.52 per cent.
Net revenue	$18,000,955	$6,727,980
Per cent. of net earnings to capital invested	8⅛ per cent.	4½ per cent.
Passengers carried	2,102,483,010	675,445,481
Average rate of fare paid per passenger	2.1 cents	2.48 cents

The comparison of public and private operation is on the same basis, for the public undertakings are required to pay taxes the same as a private company, as well as to provide for the amortization of the debt within a specified number of years. Out of the 176 public undertakings (including the 40 owned but not operated) 4 small communities show a deficit aggregating in all $15,000. These deficits, however, are nominal, and of course include the charges for taxes, for interest, and for the sinking fund to repay indebtedness. For the most part the undertakings are highly profitable, even in the face of the fact that cities pay higher wages and treat their employ-

[1] Cities also own the tracks and lease the operation to private companies in forty other cities not included in these figures.

ees more generously than do the private companies. They also charge lower fares and spend more liberally for the comfort and convenience of the public.

Taking the United Kingdom as a whole, the average fare paid on the municipally owned street railways was 2.1 cents, as against an average fare of 2.48 cents on the private lines. The average fare in Scotland on the public lines is but 1.9 cents. This difference in fares alone amounts to $7,989,434 on the 2,102,483,000 passengers carried by all the municipal lines. And had these car riders paid the average fare of 5 cents charged in America, they would have paid $105,124,150, instead of $47,437,170, which is the difference between a 5-cent fare and a 2.1-cent fare, the average fares charged in America and by the public systems in Great Britain.

In addition to the saving to car riders, the public tramways contributed $2,200,565 to the relief of taxation. They also repaid loans to the extent of $5,893,875. The total gain to the public from these two sources alone amounted to $8,093,540, and if we add the contributions to the relief of taxation, the debt repayment, and the difference in fares between the public and private corporations, together, we have a total saving to the communities of $16,082,974 a year from municipal ownership of the tramways.

The largest contributions to the relief of taxation were $364,987 in Manchester, $275,000 in Leeds,

$265,000 in Glasgow, $160,000 in Birmingham, $135,000 in Liverpool, and $100,000 in Nottingham and Bradford. In Glasgow the profits go to a special fund known as "The Common Good."

Ordinances in England, as in Germany, specifically prohibit overcrowding. In Liverpool 68 per cent. additional cars are added during the rush hours. In Birmingham standing is prohibited. In Leeds the service is increased by 30 per cent. in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. Many cities provide reduced fares mornings and evenings. In Manchester 3 and 4 cent fares are reduced to 2 cents, 5 and 6 cent fares to 3 cents, and 7 and 8 cent fares to 4 cents. In Leeds four-mile tickets are sold for 2 cents.

Bradford carries on a municipal express and delivery service for the transportation of packages. Delivery stamps are sold to be affixed to parcels the same as postage-stamps. Motor vans collect the parcels from outlying stations and bring them to the centre of the city. At the terminals of each tramway route a uniformed agent collects and delivers the parcels. Parcels are despatched from the central offices in bags and bundles, and are placed in the vestibule behind the motorman. The packages are then delivered at the various substations, of which there are from twenty to thirty, for distribution throughout the city. The rates of charges for carriage are as follows: For packages up to 7

pounds, 4 cents; from 7 to 14 pounds, 6 cents; from 14 to 28 pounds, 8 cents; and from 28 to 56 pounds, 10 cents. The entire investment in the parcels delivery system is but $17,033, including the cost of 5 motor vans, while the working force consists of 52 boys, who attend to the collection and delivery of parcels, and 16 men, including the clerks, motor drivers, and inspectors. The total cost of the service in 1910 was $31,284, and the receipts were $39,757. During the year 1910, 675,719 parcels were carried.

The introduction of the tramway express has enabled many shopkeepers to dispense with errand-boys and delivery service, as they secure a cheaper and much quicker delivery by this process. The congestion on the streets is also reduced, and the unnecessary waste involved in countless delivery wagons traversing the same routes.

If one can accept the opinions of officials and citizens, the financial gains from public ownership are of secondary importance to the social advantages which have followed. Mr. John Burns asserts that the renaissance of municipal administration in Great Britain is the result of public trading, and especially of the municipalization of street railways. Certainly one finds wide-spread interest in these undertakings. The transfer of a tram-line to the city is made a gala day. The cars are decorated with bunting and flowers; city officials declare a holiday, and the whole community unites in rejoicing on taking

possession of the property. The accounts are carefully scrutinized by the press and the public. Comparisons are made with the equipment and earnings of other towns, while members of the council seek a place on the tramway committee because of the opportunity it offers to make a reputation or perform a service. As a result, the tramways are probably the most efficient department of the city. They are under such constant oversight by the public that they have to be. But even aside from this, officials and employees seem animated by a pride in their work, by an *esprit de corps* that extends to all the people.

The publicly owned tramways of Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, and London are the best, from every point of view, of any street-railway lines that I have ever seen. They are far in advance of the private lines in America, and superior to any in Germany, with the possible exception of one or two cities. Tracks are laid on permanent concrete foundations, so that there is scarcely any noise. Cars are clean, fresh with paint, and very comfortable. The double-decker type of car is universally used, the upper deck being provided with windows which can be closed in inclement weather. Here smoking is permitted. The upper decks are very popular and are widely used for pleasure-riding.

The condition of the employees has also been improved. A week's holiday on full pay is usually given

the men, while free uniforms and pensions and other benefits are provided. There have been few labor controversies, although the cities do not discourage organization on the part of the men. Troubles are usually adjusted by arbitration. The employees seem to appreciate that favorable public opinion is necessary to a successful strike, and as the public appreciates that the fares they pay and the profits of the lines depend upon economies in operation, they are not inclined to be indifferent to the wage-scale. On the other hand, there is no inclination to insist on low wages or long hours of employment. English cities have generally established the "fair wage" in all departments, the scale being considerably above that paid by private employers.

Probably the greatest gain has come from an awakened interest in the city; a feeling of affection that springs from the many things the city does. It is claimed that those cities are best governed that do the most things for the people, which is a reversal of the idea that that government is the best that does the least. The council attracts a better type of men. There is no powerful class that desires to control the administration for its own enrichment. The press is free as is public opinion. There is none of that class division that divorces the best talent of the American cities from participation in city politics because of the conflict of pecuniary and civic interests. All men are free to want the best and to work

for the best, while the professional and business classes, which are excluded from politics in America by reason of their affiliation with the public service corporations, are free to enter the council without fear of their motives being questioned. None of the objections urged against municipal ownership by the press of the United States have materialized in either Great Britain or Germany, and in the former country, at least, the official who would propose a return to private management would probably not survive the next election.

CHAPTER XXI

THE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN CITY—A COMPARISON

The thing that distinguishes the cities of the Old World from those of the New is a difference in point of view. European cities have a highly developed community sense. The rights of the public are superior to the rights of the individual. When a conflict arises, the community is paramount. In addition the city is a consciously developing organism with a growing life of its own. It is a difference in vision, in dignity, in sovereignty, as well as in honesty and efficiency that differentiates the cities of the Old World from those of the New. This is particularly true on the Continent.

We in America build cities much as our grandfathers carried on industry. Each individual follows his fancy without regard to his neighbors. One man erects an apartment-house alongside of a beautiful home. Another builds a garage, a saloon, or a livery-stable in the heart of the residence district. We awake in the morning to find a noisy factory in course of erection, and at once all values in the

neighborhood go tumbling, and an exodus to a new region begins. The height, style, and location of buildings are uncontrolled, while the harmony of the community is disfigured by bill-boards, by smoke, and by other private nuisances. There is no sense of unity, of permanence, of the rights of the whole community. In addition, the speculator lays out his land in lots of any size and upon streets of his own designing, in order that he may sell his property as quickly as possible and move on to another field of exploitation. Our cities give little thought to streets; there is little attempt to fix their style or character. They are neglected, as of no material concern to the community. Only recently have public buildings been located with any thought of the future, while only rarely have sites been selected with reference to artistic effect. Railways, factories, and warehouses are permitted to appropriate river and water fronts and exclude the rest of the community from access to them.

Individual license has run riot in our cities in a physical as well as a political way, and the cost to the present and the future is colossal. Rarely have officials appreciated the influence of transit on the distribution of population, or the cost of private ownership to the health, comfort, and convenience of the people. We fail to appreciate that the growth of a city demands the public ownership of many activities which, under earlier conditions, could with

safety be left in private hands. Our cities are built for the day only.

The British city has suffered from the same license. It, too, has been sacrificed to the unrestrained liberty of the land-owning classes and the privileges they enjoy. There has been little official control of private property, and up to very recently little attempt to plan the site on which the city is built or to anticipate its growth in a far-sighted way.

The cities of the Continent, and especially those of Germany, are being built as a unit. Officials and citizens think in different terms than do our own. We deny the city power. The Germans endow it with only less authority than the empire itself. With them cities are being built like a world's fair, with us as our grandfathers built log cabins centuries ago. They accept the state socialism of community well-being; we, the individualism of *laissez-faire*. Germany is constantly substituting the community for the private trader; we intrust almost everything to commerce. The Germans think in terms of public service, we in terms of private right. The political psychology of Germany is that of wider freedom insured through public control, ours is that of individualism free to follow its own instincts regardless of its cost to the community.

This difference in vision is reflected by councilmen and citizens, by public opinion and the press, by legislatures and state officials. The psychology of

the two countries differs diametrically in these respects.

The machinery of administration differs almost as radically as do the ideals of the people. All over Europe the city is governed by experts selected without regard to party and with special training for the posts they occupy. Nowhere is the city the pawn of parties or of business interests. Municipal administration is treated as a technical profession which requires long training and permanent tenure for the solution of its problems. The city is a great business corporation with a social as well as a political mission to perform.

Very different things, too, are expected of officials in the American and European city. The best mayors in this country have been political crusaders, who promoted issues before the people, often at great cost to themselves. This is due to the fact that we have no other way of settling controversial questions. We have to embody them in a candidate. The relation of the city to the public service corporation, the question of municipal ownership or regulation, makes the crusader type of mayor inevitable, for no other way exists to settle these questions. The people are so nearly powerless that it is only through a leader that they can protect themselves from exploitation. And not until the city is equipped with home rule, with the initiative and referendum, with power to frame policies and deter-

mine how great questions shall be settled, will it be possible to do away with the crusader type and introduce the expert into the machinery of administration.

Municipal administration is still further confused by the excise, saloon, and vice questions. Legislatures enact sumptuary laws which mayors are bound to enforce, and about the propriety of which there is wide difference of opinion. Shall amusements be permitted and the saloon be open on Sunday? Shall we have a liberal administration of the excise laws, or shall they be vigorously enforced? These are problems which every candidate for mayor must face, not only during his campaign but during his administration as well. It is such issues as these, which have but little to do with the question of efficient administration, that make it difficult to elect or retain the permanent trained official in our cities.

This problem is further disturbed by the large foreign-born population which cannot adjust itself to Anglo-Saxon ideas of sumptuary legislation. It has always looked upon the restaurant as a perfectly natural place to go. It sees no more harm in the sale of beer than in the sale of groceries, and it cannot understand the point of view that makes these things illegitimate. This element of the population is perfectly honest in its convictions, and, being endowed with the ballot, it uses it just as do all other classes, to enforce its convictions. Through the in-

jection of this issue into politics the foreign-born along with the saloon-keeper are lured into politics, and are organized with other agencies seeking privileges or protection from the community.

From these issues the European city is free. The saloon is not treated as an evil in itself, while sumptuary laws directed against gambling and the excise question do not confuse local elections or administrations. The city is free to deal with them as it wills, and to adjust its administration to the prevailing opinion of the community. It has home rule in these as in other local questions. In consequence the city is able to concentrate its mind on other and more important issues.

It is not necessary to assume that there is less honesty with us than there is in England or Germany, or that our people are incompetent. Our failure to develop efficiency is not due to the voter so much as to this confusion of issues and the activity of the public service corporations coupled with the State laws directed against the saloon, Sunday amusements, vice, and gambling. Nor is this all. Our cities have a heavy burden to carry in the complicated machinery which has been provided for registering the people's will. When one compares the simple charters of the German and the British city with those of our own, one finds in this alone an adequate explanation of our failures. Instead of two or three candidates and a single elective

office, with a direct line of vision between the voter and his representative, the voter in America has to make his way through a labyrinth of caucuses, primaries, and conventions before he has even a chance to vote for a candidate. The election is scarcely less complicated. The voter is confined in his choice to partisan nominees, all of whom are frequently selected for him by the same interests. In addition he is confronted with a blanket-ballot many feet in length, containing the names of nominees for every conceivable office, from governor to constable. He must pick out a candidate for mayor, solicitor, treasurer, auditor, and councilmen, often in addition to State and Federal nominees. In a minute's time he is expected to work out a combination that will be both efficient and honest. Of course the voter is helpless. The whole proceeding is a farce, and is designed to be. The long ballot, the confusion of issues, the convention, primary, and caucus, are all planned to make popular government impossible and to turn the city over to the boss and the special interests which the boss represents. Only recently have our charters been framed for simplicity and responsibility. Herein, of itself, is an adequate explanation of the failures of our cities.

The administrative machinery of the cities of America and Europe differs again in the ideals which underlie it. We assume that every official must have some other official to watch him and overrule

him if necessary. The mayor has a veto on the council, the legislature on both, while the courts are a third check to hasty or ill-considered action. There are checks and balances, hurdles and obstacles, all along the line of action. Private business would go into bankruptcy if compelled to work with such instruments as we have provided for city, State, and nation. We have adjusted everything for dead-lock, for delay, for conflict, as though no one was to be trusted, and all officials were to be kept down to the dead-level of the least enlightened or most reactionary member of the trinity, be it the legislature, the executive, or a judge. There is little to appeal to the man of courage; little to attract the man of power. City government is in the nature of a hurdle-race, in which the idea of efficiency is to increase the number of obstacles to the point that will permit of the minimum of movement by the participants.

European administration has not fallen into this error. It is not an obstacle race. It is easy for a man to distinguish himself, easy for the council to deliberate, and, when a decision has been reached, easy to carry the decision into execution. This has a stimulating psychological effect. It attracts men of ability and ambition into politics, for the official is not subject to the veto of half a dozen powers at every turn he makes.

We are rapidly abandoning the idea of checks and balances in our cities, and shall have to abandon it

in State and National Government as well. Those States that have really achieved efficiency are the ones where a strong executive has overridden the theory of the constitution. For the theory of our constitutions has broken down. It never was a wise, never was a workable theory. And it never has been copied by any other people in the century that has intervened since its adoption. The Federal Constitution, copied by our cities, with its divided responsibilities and checks and balances, was designed to block popular government and check the expression of the popular will.

It is not to be inferred that the German or English political machinery should be copied in this country. Undoubtedly city administration should be intrusted to experts trained in the many problems with which the modern city is confronted. Undoubtedly, too, there should be permanence and the exclusion of partisanship from elections. The civil service should be protected from the spoils system, and the city be treated as a social and business agency. But the large council, acting through committees, as in Great Britain, or the two-chambered organization, consisting of the council and the magistrat in Germany, are not the only means for achieving these ends. If we were able to exclude the controversial questions which convert our cities into armed camps, it would be possible to have permanence in tenure and at the same time secure the ex-

pert without violent departure from either the federal plan, which prevails in most of our large cities, or the commission plan, which has been adopted by nearly two hundred smaller cities.

Of even more importance are the methods of nomination and election. For it is not through the charter so much as through the long partisan ballot and the making of nominations by conventions, that privilege maintains its control. Were the party emblem abolished, were nominations made by petition, and the number of elective officials reduced to those who control policies, city administration would undoubtedly leap to a higher level, as has almost always happened where these reforms have been adopted. And were elections free from the excise and Sunday-closing questions, and did our cities own the public utility corporations which now divide them into armed camps, the municipalities of America would adjust administration to business methods, and find means for introducing the permanent expert official into the government. For improvement in official personnel is not withheld from us so much by the unwillingness of the people to appreciate the value of talent as by the extraneous influences which control our cities for their own profit, and which have thus far prevented reforms in the machinery of administration as well as in the activities which the city may assume.

And back of all other municipal needs is that of

freedom, of local home rule. For in the long run the attitude of mind of the voter is moulded by the power he enjoys and the possibility of working out his city's destiny in its own way. This is a law of human psychology. It is a law of biology as well. Development can only come through freedom; human progress can only come through experiment. Society is bound to be static if controlled by inflexible laws. It cannot be otherwise. This is as true of politics as it is of industry. And American progress in industry is the product of liberty. The same progress is only possible in politics when the city is free to call forth the talent of its citizens and to use that talent as the particular needs of the community suggest.

The German and British cities differ from our own in yet another way. But little has been written on the subject of political psychology and but little is really known. Yet the psychology of the voter explains the city. It determines how men think and how they vote. One has only to talk with the citizens of a German or a British city to find a very different psychology from that which prevails in America, and this is not traceable to personal or ethnic causes so much as to the relation of the city to the people.

In America there is no strong economic nexus between the voter and the official, between the citizen and the city. There is little to bring home to the

people the necessity for good government. In Europe the reverse is true. Even the poorest feels that the city is an important thing in his life; so important, in fact, that he must, in self-protection, concern himself about the city. In England, as we have seen, local taxes are levied on the tenant, rather than on property. The voter is always a taxpayer, and the taxpayer is a voter. He measures the honesty and efficiency of the city every year in the bill which he receives for the support of the government. Even if he is a clerk or a workingman, he is conscious of the cost of the city to him. In Germany local taxes are levied upon incomes, business, and land, the income tax being assessed against those who have incomes in excess of approximately $225. In America, on the other hand, local taxes are collected from real estate, personal property, and licenses. Three-fourths of our voters are tenants. They are not conscious that they are taxpayers and in consequence feel little sense of concern for the actions of their officials. They do not think in economic terms. They lack the rate-payer's interest of Great Britain and Germany. There is no material appeal to them when they go to the polls.

In addition, the American city owns so few things and does so little for the people that it fails to awaken their pride or affection. Municipal activities are, for the most part, limited to the exercise of the police power in its various manifestations. Municipal

ownership has much to do with the attitude of the voter in England and Germany. It explains the psychology of the citizen. The bigness of the city, the services it renders, its intimate touch with all classes, awaken their interest and affection. People are interested in the city because the city is interested in them. There is action and reaction. This is the great gain from municipal ownership, especially the ownership of the things that touch every citizen in an intimate way, as do the street railways. And experience shows that it is more important for the city to own its means of transit than its water, gas, or electricity supply. For the street railways are under daily, momentary inspection. They are always on view. It would be almost impossible for a city to manage its street railways badly, to sacrifice service to spoils, to crowd passengers, or to tolerate the dirty, noisy cars with which we are compelled to be content. There would be too great an outcry against it. It would involve too universal discomfort.

In addition to this, the very bigness of the European city attracts big men to the council. It is a distinction to be intrusted with the control of the most important corporation in the community, to handle millions, to direct construction work, to be of commanding service. Men of talent are allured by such opportunities—opportunities which do not exist in the American city. With us there is little to engage the imagination or the ability of a man of

talent. We have reversed the natural order of things in this country. We say that municipal ownership must wait on honesty and efficiency. Rather we should say that honesty and efficiency will be brought in with municipal ownership; that only through making the city an important thing will it awaken interest and enthusiasm.

Moreover, only through municipal ownership can we put an end to the class conflict that now aligns the privileged few on the one hand, and the great mass of the people on the other. On the one hand are the banks, the business and professional men, the members of clubs, and the agencies of public opinion, almost all united against good government when good government threatens their privileges. It is not too much to say that in almost every city in the land the business interests have controlled elections, they have moulded policies, and have made the American city the thing it is for a quarter of a century.

The mind of the man behind the ballot in Germany, Great Britain, and America is what it is because of economic rather than personal or ethnical reasons. There is but little difference in human nature; little difference in the desire of people for the good rather than the bad. But people think in economic terms. Their welfare and the taxes they pay are the nerve-centres to which the political mind responds. The English voter is a rate-payer first and

a fragmentary owner of an immense amount of property second. The same is true in Germany. And in both countries the renaissance in municipal life came in with the larger social vision that began with the municipal ownership of the public utilities—a movement that has been widening ever since into new fields of action. The voters in these countries select officials with whom they can trust their economic interests. And the officials reflect the needs of the man in the street. For they, too, are taxpayers and municipal property-owners.

In the American city there is no such stimulus. The average man is not conscious of his material interest in the community. The city does so few things that it fails to awaken his pride. He is a member of a corporation so shorn of power by the State, so limited in its possibilities of good, so subject to the control of business, the saloon, vice, and privileged interests, that the natural political instincts of the voter have but little chance to develop.

In this comparison of cities it should be borne in mind that the European city is far from democratic. Officials consult the voters but little, and manage the city in a rather autocratic way. The mass of the people participate but little in the making of opinion or the framing of policies. This is less true in Great Britain than it is on the Continent, but even in the former country the rate-payers, suffrage, the method of local taxation, and the ascendency of

the middle classes and small shopkeeper give a quality to administration that is far from democratic.

The achievements of the American city are of the people. They are the slow up-workings of a universal movement. We are raising a whole people to the art of self-government. We are doing very different things in this country; we are animated by different motives; we are living in different ages. The cry of the almost disfranchised German is for democracy; of the British rate-payer for the American system of local taxation and more generous concern for sweetness and light. The cry of the American city is for the things the German and English cities have already achieved.

It should not be forgotten, too, that there are many things already better done by the American city than by any cities in the world. There are realms of administration in which we excel. Our system of local taxation is more just than that of any other country. It is better than the German system, and is a generation in advance of those of Great Britain or the Latin countries. Our schools are superior to those of most countries, and are comparable to those of any. The American parks and playgrounds, the provision for out-of-door recreation and for the poor, are viewed as models, while our libraries and fire departments attract the attention of foreigners just as the achievements of European cities attract the admiration of Americans.

The cities of the New World are not all bad by any means.

Within the last few years the municipal movement in this country has begun to assume new forms. The individualism of a half-century ago is breaking down before the growing consciousness that the city can only protect itself by undertaking new functions and by socializing many activities. The reform cries of a generation ago are being superseded by movements for home rule and the simplification of the city's charter. The ballot is being shortened, the party emblem is being removed from the ballot, while the initiative and referendum are being added as a means of establishing responsibility. For the first time cities are planning public structures and suburban developments with a conscious vision of the future, while election issues are centring about programmes to be achieved rather than individuals to be elected. We are forming new ideals and developing a city sense. We are beginning to see the city as a conscious, living organism which the architect and the engineer, the educator and the artist, the administrator and the dreamer, can build and plan for the comfort, convenience, and happiness of people, just as kings in an earlier age planned their cities for the gratification of their ambition and the glorification of their pride.

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